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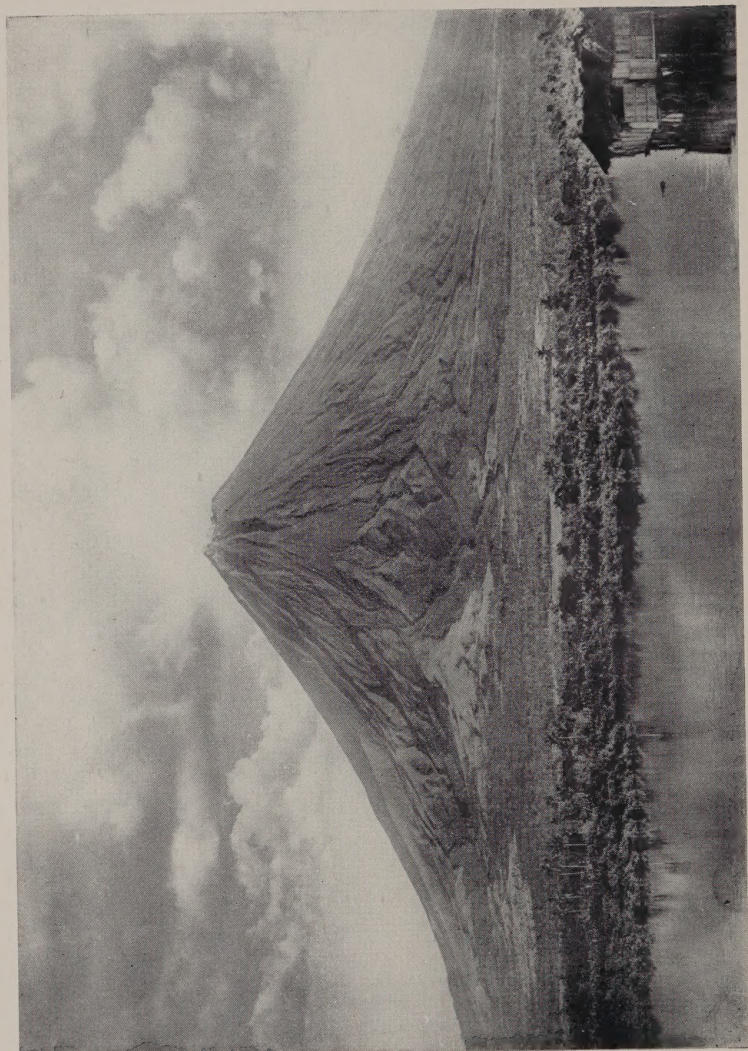


AMERICAN APOSTLES  
TO THE PHILIPPINES



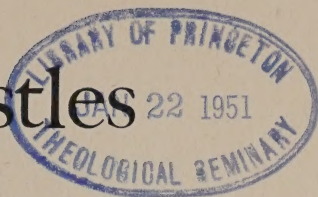






MAYON VOLCANO  
*One of the Scenic Splendors of the Philippines*

# American Apostles to the Philippines



by  
ARTHUR S. PIER

*with an introduction by*  
W. CAMERON FORBES

Such wind as scatters young men through the world  
To seek their fortunes further than at home  
Where small experience grows.

*Shakespeare*



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TO THE HAPPY MEMORY

OF

JOHN SYLVANUS LEECH

BORN JULY 2, 1868

DIED JANUARY 29, 1948

FIRST DIRECTOR OF THE PHILIPPINE

BUREAU OF PRINTING

*He proved his affection for the Filipinos, and his confidence in their capacity, by making his bureau in effect a technical school in which he taught young Filipinos proficiency in the cultural art of printing and illustrating books*

W. C. F.



# Contents

PREFACE . . . . .	ix
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xi
1. GEORGE DEWEY . . . . .	3
<i>whose destruction of the Spanish fleet led to America's occupation of the Philippine Islands</i>	
2. FREDERICK FUNSTON . . . . .	13
<i>who ended the organized Philippine Insurrection by capturing General Aguinaldo</i>	
3. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT . . . . .	29
<i>who established civil government and initiated the era of good will between Americans and Filipinos</i>	
4. LUKE EDWARD WRIGHT . . . . .	39
<i>who ran the threads of order and organization through the structure of government</i>	
5. LEONARD WOOD . . . . .	53
<i>who restored decency and credit to the Philippine government after a period of misrule</i>	
6. DEAN CONANT WORCESTER . . . . .	69
<i>who encouraged science and brought peace and fair dealing to the savages of the interior</i>	
7. FRANK WATSON CARPENTER . . . . .	85
<i>who taught the Filipino rulers of provinces and cities the American ethical principles of government</i>	
8. WARWICK GREENE . . . . .	97
<i>who organized the governmental engineering forces, and taught Filipinos how to build and maintain their roads</i>	



9. JOHN SYLVANUS LEECH . . . . .	107
<i>who made the Bureau of Printing a technical school in which the Filipinos could learn to become self-respecting and self-supporting artisans</i>	
10. JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING . . . . .	117
<i>whose masterly campaign against the previously uncontrolled Moros led to later high command which made him potent in world history</i>	
11. RICHARD PEARSON STRONG . . . . .	131
<i>whose researches into the causes and cure of tropical disease won for him the leadership in his field</i>	
12. CHARLES HENRY BRENT . . . . .	143
<i>who, as first Episcopal Bishop of the Philippines, inspired all who knew him by his high ethical standards; and who conducted an international campaign against the evils of narcotics</i>	
EPILOGUE . . . . .	152
INDEX . . . . .	154

# Preface

IT IS SAID that when John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy in President McKinley's cabinet, received the news of the Battle of Manila Bay, he at once turned to an atlas to find out just where Manila was. From that battle dates the active interest of Americans in a remote and hitherto unconsidered archipelago — an interest which brought about not a colonial government, for America never colonized the Philippines, but a trusteeship in government until the islanders became able to administer their own affairs. The success of this trusteeship was wholly due to the character of the men sent out from the United States to supervise the unwanted and unwilling wards for whom a strange turn of events had made our government responsible.

This little book deals with twelve of those men, each of them an inspiring figure, all of them now dead. Had space permitted, many other Americans, some of them mentioned incidentally in the following pages, might well have received similar recognition. They too devoted themselves courageously and unselfishly to creating a better life for a people whose race, color, language, and traditions were different from their own.

The Hon. W. Cameron Forbes, Philippine Commissioner, 1904-1908, Vice Governor of the Philippines, 1908-1909, and Governor General, 1909-1913, not only suggested that I write this book but also assisted me greatly by providing material for it. From talks with Major General Frank McCoy, Colonel Edward Bowditch, and Dr. Victor Heiser, each of whom during his long service in the Philippines had known

most of the twelve American Apostles — as the subjects of these sketches may well be designated — I obtained many suggestions. I am indebted to Admiral Dewey's *Autobiography*, General Funston's *Memories of Two Wars*, Henry F. Pringle's *Life of William Howard Taft*, Victor G. Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, Dean C. Worcester's *The Philippines, Past and Present*, Hermann Hagedorn's *Life of Leonard Wood*, *The Letters of Warwick Greene*, Alexander C. Zabriskie's *Life of Bishop Brent*, and W. Cameron Forbes's *The Philippine Islands*.

My aim has been to show in a brief space the character of each man and to indicate his contribution to civilization in the Philippines.

A. S. P.

# Introduction

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES up to the end of the nineteenth century were largely introspective, and their preoccupation with the development and structure of their own government and institutions absorbed the major part of their attention.

The country was operating to an important degree on credit; large investments of foreign capital had been lured into American enterprises for transportation, manufacture, agricultural development, mining, and banking.

American captains of industry were abundantly occupied in these enterprises, and in the course of a century or two a very substantial amount of American capital had been accumulated for investment within the borders of the United States. It followed that our economic administrators had very little occasion for outward outlook or concern with international business and comparatively little interest in commerce. Their principal market was at home.

America's position as a world power had become merely potential. And when, in the closing days of the century, after fifty years of international peace, war with Spain broke out, our startled citizens found themselves engaged in war with a foreign power.

Very few of our citizens had any realization that a new era was dawning and that the days of the United States as a debit nation were numbered. They were wholly taken by surprise a few years later by our emergence as a dominant world power — as were our friends overseas.



War with Spain found the American people complacent with their long history of peace and training in the domestic arts, and wholly unprepared to engage in international hostilities. They were without an adequate army, and most of their overseas commerce had been carried on in foreign bottoms which left America without transports, though the country had admirable army and navy training schools. When the officers who had graduated from these schools were called into action they amply justified the confidence of the people and the high standards of their training. Nevertheless, the Americans were wholly unequipped to implement the responsibilities thrust upon them by the sudden acquisition of peoples and dependencies.

In the government there was no department for civil administration of overseas territory, and no trained corps of experts that could be called upon in the emergency.

At the outbreak of the war with Spain, Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey, at Hongkong in command of the American Asiatic fleet, received a telegram from the Secretary of the Navy advising him that war had commenced between the United States and Spain and ordering him to proceed at once to the Philippine Islands and destroy the Spanish fleet.

The Commodore set forth for the hazardous conquest of a fortified harbor defended by a fleet of unknown strength. Disregarding mines and fortifications at the entrance of Manila Bay, on May 1, 1898, he entered the bay and promptly destroyed the Spanish fleet.

The Spaniards had been in the Philippine Islands for over three hundred years. They had rendered to the Filipinos a service of inestimable value, in uniting the people and winning them to the Christian religion. Over 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the Islands were Christians, more or less devout adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. Those of other faiths

were divided between Mohammedans in the far south of the archipelago and pagans or wild tribes in the mountains in the interior of the larger islands.

Admirable as had been the religious aspect of Spanish domination, there had also been abuses; the Spaniards had not kept abreast of modern and democratic thought; the administrators were venal and the Church was too influential in civil and governmental matters.

Spain, as a result of such abuses in Central and South America, had lost its extensive empire in the Western Hemisphere, where the various countries had attained their independence. The Monroe Doctrine having been opportunely enunciated by the United States, these countries had succeeded in maintaining their independent sovereignties against any encroachment by foreign powers.

As a direct result of the war with Spain, the United States found itself with not only the administration of the Philippine Islands on its hands but also that of extensive possessions elsewhere, the islands of Guam and Midway in the Pacific, Porto Rico in the south and Cuba at its very doors.

In both the Philippine Islands and Cuba there had been — and were at that time in progress — revolutions against the inept and outmoded Spanish administration. It was, in fact, events in Cuba that precipitated our war with Spain. But it is fair to say that the people of the United States had no conception of the magnitude of the problems about to be thrust upon them as a result of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands.

The early victory in the war, and the surrender to the United States of the Spanish forces in the Philippines, showed in bold relief the unreadiness of the United States to take over these new responsibilities. So it came to pass that the American army was unprovided with military forces with which to garrison the posts and arsenals surrendered by Spain; and thus we

were not prepared with the "ounce of prevention" which is so much more effective than the "pound of cure" to head off the possibility of insurrection.

The Filipinos had established their own government and the Americans early accepted the native revolutionary forces as allies, and even supplied them with arms. But when the Spaniards surrendered Manila, with the definite stipulation that the city should not be occupied by Filipino troops, dissatisfaction on the part of the Filipinos, who were thus excluded from their own capital (which some of them had expected to loot), resulted in strained relations which shortly broke out into insurrection against the Americans. The Filipino leaders very naturally questioned the good faith of the Americans as to turning over the Philippines to be developed for the use of the Filipinos.

One of the unfortunate results was that, although the Spaniards surrendered and agreed to deliver the forts, arsenals, and key positions to the Americans, the latter were in no position to take them over. The fighting, which became very intense on the principal island of Luzon and especially in the neighborhood of Manila, occupied the attention of the available forces, and the more remote points had to wait.

One episode which is deserving of recognition occurred in the case of the fort at Zamboanga in the extreme southern part of the archipelago. Here the Spanish officers showed their innate nobility of character and chivalry in declining to surrender to the insurrectionary forces the fort and arsenal which they had undertaken to deliver to the United States.

This story is told in a history of the Philippine Islands in the following words:

The loyal efforts of the Spaniards, unsupported from Madrid, to maintain the dignity and fulfill the obligations of their government during this long period of national humiliation merit the

highest praise. Severe losses of lives and property were suffered and many acts of individual gallantry and collective bravery and fortitude occurred of which few have come to public notice. The severe fighting at both Iloilo and Zamboanga to hold those important base points against insurgent Filipinos, and the fatal wounding of General Montero while embarking his troops in the evacuation of Zamboanga in May 1899 after vainly awaiting relief by American forces, are but incidents of the efforts made by Spain honorably to carry out her undertaking of cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the publication of the book the author received a letter signed by Manuel Garcia Morales, written from Madrid. Part of it follows, in translation:

With genuine pleasure I have read the work which you published, *The Philippine Islands*. . . .

I took part in the whole Philippine campaign, filling the greater part of the time the position of Chief of Staff of the Spanish Army; and fate ruled that I should be the Spanish representative in Zamboanga when the events occurred of which you give an account, in which you eulogize and express appreciation of that episode, which we remember with pride not only personally but also on behalf of those comrades who took part in the events which you recount. So, Sir, we send our applause and appreciation for the well chosen encomiums which you gave us; we are especially grateful as they were addressed to people whom you did not know and who appear as deserving of great merit in the true and impartial story you tell.

In Zamboanga we were a mere handful of soldiers who had had the fortune, among so many reverses, of not having suffered a single defeat, nor yielded up our swords as prisoners, nor, what is still more distressing, to have been present at the sad spectacle of seeing our flag hauled down in sight of the fort . . . even though by the terms of the Treaty of Paris we had been deprived of the sovereignty over the town and country which had been ceded to you Americans. But only to Americans we were bound to make deliveries fulfilling the orders of our government. . . . But we fulfilled our duty for the honor of our uniform, and this deserves to be perpetuated so that everybody can see regardless of nationality.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (1928).



The people of Zamboanga joined up with the Moros of Mindanao and possibly those of Jolo, demanding that we deliver the arms which we had in the magazine. The first idea was their purchase, and this was replied to, as was to be expected, with a firm and final refusal; they stated that by offering them these arms we would take vengeance upon our enemies.

General Montero agreed with me, as chief of staff, and refused these requests and replied: "The arms belong to my country, and they would not be delivered to anybody in the world except in accordance with my country's orders. . . . Take to the field, arm yourselves as much as you please, but only by force, and when not a single soldier remains on his feet will those arms become yours." Beautiful words and a brave resolution, for which he paid with his life.

We dug trenches with the speed the situation required and in forty-eight hours from the reply from General Montero until 10:30 on the night of the 10th of May, 1899, they began the attack and siege of Zamboanga, in the course of which the General was mortally wounded and the Comandante of Engineers, Sr. Jimeno, was seriously wounded falling at my side.

These misfortunes resulted in the command falling to my lot as chief of staff, as the serious condition of the General completely incapacitated him. For the rest of the day and throughout the siege blood flowed in abundance without causing for a minute the loss of high spirits of the soldiers, determined to resist to the last man, as they would have done if they had not received from Spain an order to withdraw; this we accomplished under enemy fire, embarking the flag, the wounded, the arms and equipment with all the pride of military honor preserved. Among those wounded was General Montero, who died on the voyage between Zamboanga and Manila.

The Philippine insurrection against the United States continued for more than two years and was slowly but surely put down, the United States flinging additional troops into the field until 120,000 men had passed overseas.

This war was by no means popular in the United States. Very potent and vocal elements arrayed themselves in opposition to the whole policy of what they called "imperialism" and "colonial expansion."

Meanwhile, on December 10, 1898, the Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain was signed, officially ceding the Islands to the sovereignty of the United States.

The insurrection broke out within two months, but as early as March 4, 1899, there arrived in Manila a commission headed by Jacob Gould Schurman, then President of Cornell University, and composed of five members, among whom were Admiral Dewey and General Otis, then commanding the military forces and operations. Their object was to study conditions and to endeavor to persuade the Filipino officials of their government to settle their affairs by peaceful means.

The Commission dealt with the representatives of the Philippine independent government, but were unable to come to definite terms with them. The insurrection continued. One result of the labors of this commission was to demonstrate, not only to thinking Filipinos but to the people of the United States, the earnest desire for peace of the American administration.

In accordance with the recommendation of this first commission, the President shortly sent out a second commission over which Judge Taft presided; it reached Manila in June, 1900, and four months later the legislative power was transferred from the Military Government and vested in this new commission.

On the fourth of July, 1901, Mr. Taft took over the reins of government with the title of Civil Governor; and three months later three Filipinos were appointed as members of the Commission, with powers of voting in legislative matters but without executive authority.

History reveals that the early colonial enterprises of all countries were entered upon either for the purpose of imposing religious beliefs upon the conquered people or for securing trade advantages from them. Even where the religious element

was the controlling one, trade advantages were not neglected. Material and economic welfare, whether expressed in education, health, or social improvement, if not wholly neglected, seems to have been at best regarded as incidental to the religious or commercial aspects of colonies; and the success of these activities was too often measured by the profit and favorable trade balances accruing to the colonizing country.

The letter of instructions to Commissioner Taft and his colleagues, prepared by Elihu Root, Secretary of War, and signed by William McKinley, President of the United States, is statesmanlike and epoch-making and contains phrases that cannot be too strongly impressed upon Americans as forming a glorious page in our history.

Extracts from this letter follow. There is not one word indicating benefits expected to accrue to the people of the United States, either to merchants or to the national treasury. The entire emphasis is laid upon the well-being of the people over whom the United States is extending protection and establishing government:

Without hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the Islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty. The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions, corresponding to counties, departments, or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines, or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subserved, by a common administration.

In the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the Commission, the presumption is always to be in favor of the small subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental government shall be vested in that government, so that in the governmental system which is the result of the process the Central Government of the Islands, following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the National Government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

That in all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way natives of the Islands are to be preferred, and, if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others. It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans, which, after a time, may well be filled by natives of the Islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil offices shall be put in force.

In all forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government. At the same time the Commission should bear in mind, and the people of the Islands should be made plainly to understand that there are certain great principles of government, which have been made the basis of our governmental system, which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great



principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their Islands, for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar. It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the Government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed the following inviolable rules . . .

Beginning with the premise "that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," the letter of instruction goes on to set forth a Bill of Rights very similar to that of the United States.

These instructions were observed scrupulously by Taft, his Commission, and his successors. Municipal governments with elected officers were established immediately and similar organization of the provinces followed.

In 1907 Taft, then Secretary of War, visited the Islands to inaugurate an elected Assembly with concurrent legislative powers over the populous Christian provinces, the Commission becoming an upper house, or senate. Within a decade authority was granted for the election of both houses with extended jurisdiction. These concessions were accompanied by parallel increases in Filipino control of the courts of justice.

In 1932 the Philippines became a Commonwealth and elected their own President. They were to go through a period of grief when, during the war between the United States and Japan, the inadequately defended Islands were overwhelmed by the vastly greater Japanese forces within a few days.

In 1946, after the Second World War, in accordance with previous arrangements, the Filipinos received their independence, and entered the family of nations.

America's intrusion in 1898 into this almost wholly un-

familiar field, and the adoption of new policies in dealing with the natives, had been viewed by older nations with attitudes varying from disapproval to scorn, especially by those with possessions in the Far East, some of whom had had colonial experience for over three hundred years. In the end, however, events more than justified American principles and methods. When the Second World War came, the natives of the Philippine Islands were the only ones that joined loyally and valiantly in the fighting. They were not in the least deceived by the boastful Japanese claim that they came as "liberators."

One prominent Filipino judge wrote to a friend: "When the American troops re-entered Manila, the Gates of Heaven opened and we recovered our lost liberties."

W. CAMERON FORBES



GEORGE DEWEY



## GEORGE DEWEY

Born December 26, 1837

Graduated from United States Naval Academy, 1858

Commissioned Lieutenant, executive officer of the  
*Mississippi*, 1861

Chief of Bureau of Equipment, Navy Department, 1889

President of Board of Inspection and Survey, 1895

Commander of Asiatic Squadron, 1897

Battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898

Commissioned Admiral, 1899

Member of First Philippine Commission, 1899

President of General Board of Navy Department, 1900

Died January 16, 1917





# I

## George Dewey

SMALL, WIRY, ALERT, the Vermont boy was a daredevil. In Montpelier, where he lived, he would run down the State House steps blindfolded. In swimming he would stay under water longer than any other boy. Once when the Winooski River was at flood crest, he tried to drive his father's horse and wagon across it; only he and the horse got ashore. One of his pranks brought him into court. With four of his schoolmates at Norwich Academy he set up a secular concert under the open window of a room in which hymns were being sung. This scandalous performance resulted not only in his appearance before a magistrate but also in his separation from the Academy.

The next year his father, a country doctor who was somewhat disturbed by his scapegrace's exploits, got him an appointment to the recently established Naval Academy at Annapolis. He had been there but a few days when a classmate at mess called him a name that he properly resented; he sprang round the table and beat the offender under it. The superintendent, who witnessed the affair, gave him ten demerits, congratulated him, and ten years later, when in command of the European Squadron, chose him as flag lieutenant.

At the end of his first year at the Academy, George Dewey ranked thirty-third in a class of thirty-five. At graduation he



ranked third in a class that then numbered only fifteen. Like nearly all the other midshipmen, he adopted the practice of chewing tobacco. On the midshipmen's cruise he made the acquaintance of some young English naval officers whose unconcealed disgust at the habit caused him to realize that it was filthy rather than manly; he discontinued it at once. He was always quick to learn.

From the beginning of the Civil War he served under Farragut on the old side-wheeler *Mississippi* until she was destroyed by the Confederate guns at Port Hudson in March, 1863. Then he was executive officer of Farragut's flagship, the *Monongahela*, and finally of the *Colorado* in the battle of Fort Fisher. Thus, during the four years of the Civil War, he saw much active service in a highly responsible capacity; moreover, he had been closely associated with Farragut, the greatest of American naval fighting men, in his most daring enterprises. Thirty-five years later the lessons that he had learned under Farragut were vivid in his mind and influenced his actions in Manila Bay.

Those intervening years of peace provided him with an education for dealing with the international problems that were to confront him. Typical of the man, and foreshadowing his conduct in a later and greater crisis, was his action at La Paz, Bolivia, in 1873. He had put in for shelter from a hurricane. Before he was ready to leave, the American manager of some mines forty miles from the city got word to him that the miners had seized the property and were threatening to massacre the American colony. Captain Dewey requested the governor to dispatch troops at once to protect them and, when the governor showed some disinclination to comply, stated that unless the action was taken immediately he would seize the custom house and hold it awaiting instructions from Washington. That there might be no doubt of his seriousness he moved his ship,

the *Narragansett*, to an anchorage from which she commanded the main street of La Paz, the custom house, and the governor's residence. The troops were at once sent and the beleaguered Americans rescued.

Dewey's education was cosmopolitan. He knew virtually all the waters, all the ports, all the capitals of the world. His hobby was the study of international law. He acquired the finesse of a career diplomat. And he was one of the most progressive officers of the Navy, proud of its development from the wooden ships of the sixties to the armored men-of-war of the nineties.

In 1897 war with Spain was threatened because of Spanish misrule and oppression in Cuba, and Commodore Dewey was assigned to the command of the Asiatic Squadron. Arriving on his flagship *Olympia* in Hong Kong in February, 1898, he learned that the battleship *Maine* had been blown up in Havana harbor. While waiting for the other ships of the squadron to join him, he gathered all the information he could about the defenses of Manila Bay, which in the event of war would be his objective. The problem of entering the Bay and smashing its defenses and the Spanish fleet was not unlike the problem which, under Farragut, he had faced in the approach to New Orleans and later in the drive up the river to Port Hudson. No doubt there were shore batteries to silence and probably mines and torpedoes to deal with. Of the seriousness of the latter menace he was as skeptical as Farragut had been when he said, "Damn the torpedoes; full steam ahead!" When on April 25 Secretary Long, who had Theodore Roosevelt as his active assistant, cabled Dewey that war had begun and that he was to proceed at once to the Philippines, his ships and his men were thoroughly prepared.

As events soon showed, the enemy's ships and men were not.

Just after midnight on the morning of May 1, the American

fleet entered Manila Bay. The few shots fired from the land batteries guarding the entrance fell harmlessly in the water. At dawn Dewey's ships were within range of the Cavite forts and the Spanish Squadron, both of which opened fire without causing damage. Not until he was within five thousand yards of Admiral Montojo's fleet did Dewey give his famous order, "You may fire when ready, Gridley." Within two hours the Battle of Manila Bay was virtually over, with the loss of not a single American life. Before the end of the day, the Spanish squadron had been annihilated.

But though the Americans were now masters of the Bay, the Spaniards held Manila. Dewey notified the captain-general that he would destroy the city if its batteries, which had been active but inaccurate during the battle, fired another shot. He also demanded the right to transmit cable messages to Hong Kong. The captain-general promised that there would be no firing, but refused the use of the cable; Dewey thereupon cut the cable. The Spaniards were now isolated from telegraphic communication with the world. Dewey sent his dispatches by steamer to Hong Kong, whence they were cabled to Washington. The interval of at least six days between the transmission of a message and the receipt of the reply compelled him to act independently in many instances. Thus, since promptness of decision and action was important, the cutting of the cable had fortunate results.

There were other squadrons besides the American in Manila Bay — British, French, Japanese, and German. They were all there to fish in troubled waters, particularly the Germans. Von Bülow, the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, advised the Kaiser (as became known later) that the control of the Pacific might depend on the control of the Philippines, and that the islands must not be allowed to pass to another power unless Germany received equivalent compensation.

Dewey's rigid enforcement of blockade regulations was more than once challenged by the Germans. One night a German launch approached an American ship, was picked out by searchlight, and observed by Dewey himself from the deck of the *Olympia*. He ordered a six-pound shot fired over her; the marine watch, too, opened a small-arms fire. She stopped at once; her officer was brought to the flagship and lectured by the American commander in chief on the danger of approaching a blockading squadron after dark.

To the European powers, who were gathering like vultures about the carcass of Spain's Pacific empire, the forceful intrusion of the United States — commonly regarded as a second-class power — was galling. The British alone showed a friendly attitude, even though their commercial interests in the Philippines were far greater than those of any other nation and their naval force the largest in the Far East. As for the French and Japanese, they complied with the usual formalities; their ships, on entering the Bay, reported to the commander of the blockading force and asked where they should anchor.

Not so the Germans, who began immediately after the battle to augment their strength. On the morning of May 6 the German cruiser *Irene* arrived from Nagasaki, steamed past the *Olympia*, and dropped anchor without asking permission. This breach of etiquette Dewey overlooked. At three o'clock in the morning of May 9 the German cruiser *Cormoran* entered the harbor. An American launch hailed her but received no acknowledgment. Then the *Raleigh* fired a shot across her bows and brought her to. Again an American officer explained to a German captain the law governing blockade and the risk that a neutral man-of-war took in running towards a blockading squadron in the dark. On May 12 Vice-Admiral von Diederichs in his flagship, the cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta*, entered the harbor. The earlier arrival of a German transport, the *Darm-*



*stadt*, on May 6, carrying 1400 men, a number nearly equal to Dewey's total force, now began to assume a sinister significance. As Dewey's rank was inferior to Von Diedrichs', he called on him, and soon took occasion to express surprise at the presence of so large a German squadron, considering how limited were German interests in the Philippines. "I am here by order of the Kaiser, Sir," said Von Diedrichs coldly.

The German officers spent much time in Manila, fraternizing with the Spanish officials. It was rumored that Germany would intervene in behalf of Spain. Von Diedrichs and the Spanish captain-general exchanged visits. Other Spanish officials called on the Germans and were saluted by the German ships. The Spanish batteries on shore returned the salutes.

On May 19, Aguinaldo, leader of the Filipino insurgents against Spain, established himself at Cavite and organized his army. Dewey allowed him to transport troops and arms by water and to take Spanish arms and ammunition from the Cavite arsenal. Because of this display of friendship, Aguinaldo assumed that, after destroying the Spanish power in the Islands, the United States would recognize Filipino independence. Nothing that Dewey ever said or wrote supported this assumption.

While the insurgents were strengthening their forces, the German ships were continually cruising in a suspicious manner about the Bay. They landed men for drill at Mariveles at the entrance of the Bay and took possession of the quarantine station. Dewey showed his displeasure by steaming round them in the former revenue cutter, the *McCulloch*, on which he hoisted his flag. Later, the insurgents who were harassing the Spaniards in the Subig Bay area complained to him that the Germans were interfering with their operations. The captain of the *Irene* had ordered them to stop using a small steamer that was in their possession.

In correspondence with Von Diedrichs, Dewey insisted on the right to board all neutral vessels, including men-of-war. Von Diedrichs stubbornly disputed that right and declared that he would submit the issue to a conference of all the senior officers of the neutral men-of-war in the harbor. Only Captain Chichester, commanding the British ship *Immortalité*, attended the conference. He not only supported the American contention but also informed Von Diedrichs that all British men-of-war had been instructed on entering the harbor to report at once to Commodore Dewey and satisfy all inquiries.

Notwithstanding this rebuff the Germans continued to flout the American regulations. The *Cormoran*, coming up the Bay, was intercepted by the *McCulloch*, which had been sent out to require her to report. She turned and steamed away, ignoring the *McCulloch's* signal. A shot across her bows produced the desired effect; she submitted then to the indignity of being boarded. The next day Von Diedrichs sent an officer to Dewey with a long list of grievances. Dewey replied to each complaint in detail and conceded nothing. He made it clear to the German commander that he was to be neither brow-beaten nor outmaneuvered.

On the ninth of August, American troops had arrived in sufficient power to capture the city, and Dewey notified the foreign men-of-war to shift their anchorage in order to be out of the line of fire. While the British ships anchored at Cavite near the American squadron, the German and French vessels moved to a point north of Manila, from which they might easily interfere with the attack. Dewey sent the *Concord* and the *Petrel* to take a position near them. When finally the American ships moved to their battle stations, the British ships *Immortalité* and *Iphigénie* steamed towards the city and placed themselves between the American men-of-war and those of the German fleet. The significance of this action was well

## FREDERICK FUNSTON

Born November 9, 1865

Student at University of Kansas, 1884-1887

Agent for U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1888

Artillery officer under Generals Gomez and Garcia in  
Cuba, 1896-1898

Colonel of Twentieth Kansas Volunteers, 1898

Sailed for Manila, November, 1898

Brigadier General of Volunteers, 1899

Captured Aguinaldo, March 23, 1901

Commissioned Brigadier General in regular Army, 1901

Commander of U. S. Troops on Mexican border, 1914-  
1917

Died February 19, 1917







## 2

# Frederick Funston

FREDERICK FUNSTON was born in New Carlisle, Ohio, on November 9, 1865. When he was two and a half years old, his family moved to Iola, Kansas. His father, a farmer, who took an active part in politics and represented his district for ten years in Congress, became known as "Foghorn Funston." When Frederick was an undergraduate at the University of Kansas he was five feet, five inches in height and weighed a hundred pounds. He put on some weight later but never an excessive amount. His muscular strength and agility were out of all proportion to his size; fearlessness was his most marked characteristic.

He worked on the family farm at intervals, earned some money at newspaper work and as a ticket collector on a railroad, and spent a couple of years at the state university — not long enough to get a degree but long enough to acquire a good knowledge of botany. With that equipment he obtained a position with the Department of Agriculture in Washington. In 1891 he was a member of a scientific expedition to Death Valley. The next year on another scientific expedition he visited Alaska and paddled fifteen hundred miles down the Yukon in a canoe. From his notes of this trip he wrote a monograph entitled *Botany of Yakutat Bay, Alaska*.

In 1896, deeply stirred by the struggle of the Cubans for

independence, he tendered his services to a Cuban recruiting agent in New York. Soon he was a captain of artillery under General Gomez. Later, a lieutenant colonel, he was transferred to General Garcia's forces. For two years he suffered the hardships, dangers, and privations that were the lot of the Cuban patriots. His devotion to the cause never flagged, though on one occasion, as he reported in his *Memories of Two Wars*, his conscience smote him. His gunnery had been effective in compelling the surrender of the town of Guimaro. When he entered the plaza the fatally wounded Spanish commander was being carried out of the church which had been used as a military strong point and which Funston had shelled. One of the Cuban officers spoke to the Spaniard and pointing to Funston said, quite unnecessarily: "That American is the man who gave you your wound, as he personally sighted every shot at the church." Recording the episode, Funston wrote: "The wounded officer, a very handsome and dignified man with snow-white hair and beard, looked at me in a reproving and wondering way, and I slunk out of sight, my peace of mind pretty badly disturbed." His honesty in reporting his feeling was characteristic.

Early in 1898, temporarily broken in health, he returned to the United States and recuperated on the Kansas farm; at the time of the declaration of war with Spain he was quite recovered. Because of his military experience Governor Leedy appointed him colonel of one of the three Kansas regiments, the Twentieth. Funston protested that although he had done much campaigning he knew little about infantry drill and therefore was not qualified for the command. The governor dismissed his protest, and events proved that he had picked the right man. Nevertheless, Funston had to overcome handicaps from the start. For example, when he went to join his regiment in camp on the state-fair grounds at Topeka, he was still in

civilian clothes, since the only men then in uniform were those who had been members of the National Guard. At the boundary of the camp he was halted by a uniformed sentry who told him that visitors were not allowed in the camp. "But I'm the Colonel," protested Funston. The sentry, a very tall fellow, smiled down at the little man and said genially, "Try the next sentry. He's easy."

But it did not take Funston long to establish authority over his men. He was a dynamic character. Though he was of a sympathetic nature, he would put up with no nonsense. When he found that an officer was incompetent or had a bad influence, he drew up a list of charges against him, wrote a letter of resignation for him to sign, summoned the man to his office, and handed him the two documents. Indicative of his men's feeling for him after their arrival in the Philippines was the legend they scrawled on the engine that hauled their supplies out from Manila — "Freddy's Fast Express." They called him "Freddy" out of affection; it was *his* train because he was the boss.

The regiment had spent a couple of months of hard seasoning in San Francisco when the Spanish war abruptly ended. They expected to be mustered out at once, but after several weeks they received orders to sail on the transport *Indiana* for Manila on October 27. Funston had made the most of his limited opportunities in San Francisco; he had met Miss Eda Blankart of Oakland soon after his arrival, and on October 25 he married her.

The friendly relations that had existed between the Americans and Aguinaldo's insurgent troops had in a few months given way to hostility. The Filipinos who followed Aguinaldo were as unwilling to be governed by Americans as by Spaniards. When the regiment arrived at Manila the American forces in and around the city were in a posture of defense,

prepared for an attack by the insurgent Filipinos but determined not to be the first to take the offensive. Unfortunately the insurgents construed this attitude as one of timidity. They were numerous, well armed with the Mauser rifles that Dewey had let them take from the Cavite arsenal in order to fight the Spaniards, and confident of their strength.

On the night of February 4, 1899, the Filipino troops in their trenches opened a heavy but ineffective fire on the Americans. In the afternoon of February 5th the Twentieth Kansas went into action for the first time and carried the trenches in front of them.

In the fighting of the next few days Funston captured the town of Caloocan and took the old church there as headquarters for his regiment. On his first visit to it he found a hard-featured American woman picking up a few articles of small value. He recognized her as a person who had attached herself to the regiment on the pretence of being a nurse. Since looting on even a minor scale was not to be tolerated, he told her to drop her bundle and get out. In a rage she declared she would have him dismissed from the service. A year later, when he returned to the United States with his regiment, this pseudo-nurse, who had arrived in San Francisco before Funston, had already tried to make good her threat by furnishing the newspapers with an affidavit to the effect that in the Caloocan church she had seen him strip from a statue of the Virgin a gold-embroidered robe worth at least a thousand dollars, which he had then sent to his wife. A man named Fitzgerald supported the affidavit with another, stating that he too had witnessed the occurrence. Fitzgerald, a deserter from a transport on which he had been a fireman, had been, like the woman, a hanger-on of the regiment, and had been punished by Funston for carrying an armful of clothing out of a vacated house.

The lies cooked up by these two vindictive persons were



spread by the press all through the United States; the newspapers with anti-imperialist proclivities were especially hospitable to them. A declaration by the chaplain of the First California Regiment, a Catholic priest, that he had entered the church before Funston did and that there was in it no statue of the Virgin and no gold-embroidered robe, received less publicity than did the foul libel. There are probably people living in the United States today who are under the impression that there was an ugly blemish on Funston's Philippine record. Fortunately in the Army the truth was known and the cruel effort to ruin his professional career failed.

After two months of trench fighting just outside of Manila, reinforcements from the United States arrived in sufficient number to enable the Americans to advance on Malolos, the insurgent capital. Funston's troops had two weeks of hard fighting before they entered Malolos to find that the enemy had withdrawn, leaving in flames the Hall of Congress and the building that Aguinaldo had occupied. The Filipino soldiers made a practice of setting fire to each town as they evacuated it — a proceeding that did not delay the American troops and harmed only the natives.

On April 27 the Americans reached Calumpit on the Rio Grande, a river four hundred feet wide. The bridge had been partly destroyed; crossing on it was impossible. On the farther bank the insurgents were well entrenched. Funston found a small raft that they had overlooked when crossing. It would support eight men. He called for volunteers to take a rope across and establish a ferry. Two privates, W. B. Trembley and Edward White, came forward. While a hundred of the best shots in the division covered their crossing with a continuous heavy fire, Trembley and White, carrying one end of a rope that was slowly paid out to them, swam to the other side and made it fast to a bamboo upright of the entrenched works.

Funston and seven of his men then boarded the raft and pulled it across by means of the rope. He sent two men back with it for reinforcements; he and the other five leaped into the nearest section of trench and captured the few defenders who had survived the accurate fire of the picked men on the opposite bank. For this exploit Funston, White, and Trembley were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. A few days later in a brisk action Funston was shot through the hand; after the wound had been bandaged he continued to lead his men until the enemy had been routed. Then he was sent to Manila for surgical treatment. On the way he received a telegram announcing that he had been promoted to brigadier general of volunteers.

Soon he returned to duty, his hand in a sling, and assumed command of the First Brigade of the Second Division, consisting of the Twentieth Kansas and First Montana. After several weeks of hard fighting the two regiments were relieved from duty at the front and sent to Manila, preparatory to returning to the United States to be mustered out. Funston first had to undergo a serious surgical operation. He and Mrs. Funston were able, however, to sail for San Francisco on the same ship with most of his old regiment. Soon after his arrival he was notified by the War Department to his great satisfaction that he would be retained in the service.

When he went back to Manila in December, 1899, the war had entered upon a new phase. Aguinaldo had ordered his men to return to their homes with their arms and carry on guerilla warfare against the seventy thousand Americans who were scattered among hundreds of towns. From a hidden forest fastness, Aguinaldo organized and directed this guerilla warfare.

Although Funston's headquarters for the next year and a

half were at San Isidro, he and his "Headquarters Scouts" were constantly off on hazardous expeditions. One of these yielded a rich haul, as it subsequently proved — the official stationery of General Lacuna, one of Aguinaldo's top commanders. The guerilla war was merciless. Aguinaldo and his principal officers were humane men, but some of the leaders of guerilla bands inflicted horrible atrocities on many of their fellow countrymen — men, women, and children — whom they suspected of sympathy with the Americans. It was a personal satisfaction to Funston that he had an active part in the fight in which Tagunton, the most notorious monster of cruelty, was killed.

In February, 1901, Lieutenant J. D. Taylor, commanding a garrison sixty miles northeast of San Isidro, notified Funston that the leader of a band of insurgents who had surrendered claimed to be bearing dispatches from Aguinaldo to General Lacuna. Funston ordered the man to be sent to him. He was an intelligent Ilocano named Segismundo, and he explained that on his way to carry out his mission he had talked with a local *presidente* (mayor) who was friendly to the Americans and who had persuaded him to transfer his allegiance to them. He had conferred with his comrades and found that they were willing to cooperate. So they had voluntarily presented themselves to Lieutenant Taylor. Segovia, a Spaniard who had done secret-service work for Funston, succeeded in deciphering the code in which the dispatches from Aguinaldo to Lacuna were written. They removed all doubt as to the truth of Segismundo's story. Aguinaldo was at Palanan, an obscure village a few miles inland from the east coast of northern Luzon. According to Segismundo, the close watch that his followers maintained along the coast as well as on all trails would make it impossible for a force of any size to approach without causing

his immediate removal to some other hide-out. The dispatches made it clear that he was expecting early reinforcements from Lacuna.

Funston now laid a plan to capture Aguinaldo. General Wheaton, his chief, and General MacArthur, the commanding general, approved it. Admiral Remey, commanding the Asiatic Station, supplied a small vessel, the *Vicksburg*, to transport the expedition.

General Lacuna's official stationery that Funston had captured was marked at the top "Brigada Lacuna." Among the other captured papers were some bearing Lacuna's signature. An expert penman at Funston's headquarters produced a convincing imitation of it and signed several sheets of the blank Brigada Lacuna stationery.

The expedition commanded by General Funston consisted of four other American officers, the Spaniard Segovia, the Filipino Segismundo, three former insurgent officers who, since their capture by the Americans, had taken the oath of allegiance and demonstrated their loyalty, and eighty-one Macabebe Scouts, all of whom could speak Tagalog, the dialect of Lacuna's province, from which this pretended reinforcement to Aguinaldo was supposed to come. The Macabebes, descendants of a small band of loyal Aztecs brought over by the Spaniards, had inherited the loyalty of their forefathers to their white commanders. Hilario Tal Placido, one of the three former insurgent officers, was personally known to Aguinaldo and was to pose as commander of the reinforcements.

At a last interview with Funston just before the expedition set out, his chief, General Arthur MacArthur, said, "Funston, this is a desperate undertaking. I fear I shall never see you again." In the same interview MacArthur said that Washington had cabled him to have Funston sent home and mustered



out of the service but that the General had obtained a delay for the performance of a special mission. Altogether the farewell interview was not one to cheer a man embarking on a desperate adventure.

On the *Vicksburg* the three "insurgent" officers and the eighty-one Macabebes were informed for the first time of the purpose of the expedition and instructed in the part they were to play. The story they were to tell was as follows: on their march to join General Aguinaldo they had come upon ten American soldiers making maps of the country; they had killed two and wounded three, whom they had left lying on the ground. The other five, who had surrendered, they were bringing with them, because they could not detach enough men to take them to General Lacuna.

Since it seemed unsafe for the *Vicksburg* to try to land them anywhere within a hundred miles of Aguinaldo's hiding place, an attempt was made thirty miles out at sea to transfer them to *bancas*, native sailing boats. A heavy storm thwarted the effort, and the party had to make a landing from the *Vicksburg's* boats at night. Funston had drafted two letters as from Lacuna to Aguinaldo, one dated February 24, 1901, acknowledging receipt of the letters from Aguinaldo dated January 13 and 14 and thanking him for his promotion to brigadier general; the other dated February 28, saying that he was sending one of his best companies under the command of Hilario Tal Placido, whom the Dictator would no doubt remember as one of his best officers. He explained furthermore that Hilario had been captured some time before by the Americans, who had compelled him to take the oath of allegiance, but that he had now returned to active service. Similarly plausible explanations were given concerning the two other ex-insurgent officers and the gallant Spaniard Segovia, represented as a long-time sympathizer with the insurgents.



On the night of May 14, the party was put ashore in heavy rain at a point about 110 miles from Palanan. They had with them only one day's ration of rice. The five American officers were of course dressed as privates in the American army; the others wore the tattered, nondescript garments of guerillas and were armed with the Mauser rifles and the bolos of guerillas.

Approaching the town of Casiguran the next day, they sent a letter — drafted by Funston, translated by Segovia, and signed by Hilario — to the *presidente*, saying that they were on their way to report to the Dictator and would like to have arrangements made for their provisioning. Crowds of people welcomed them jovously; the *presidente* was obsequious. After two days, during which the American "prisoners" were not ill treated, the expedition pushed on, having first sent a local messenger to Aguinaldo with the two bogus letters from Lacuna and a third of a corroborative nature from the Dictator's old friend and officer Hilario Tal Placido.

The townsfolk told them it was a week's march to Palanan but were able to supply them with only four days' rations. Twelve men of the town were assigned to carry the supplies; one of them acted as guide. Rain poured down in torrents, day after day, and every night. They had to wade sixty streams and stumble over rocks and through swamps. Soon, on their short rations, they were ravenous with hunger. The unceasing rain caused the cracked corn, which was the bulk of their food, to ferment. On the fifth day they ate nothing; some of the men were so weak that they could hardly walk.

At five o'clock that afternoon a messenger from General Villa, Aguinaldo's chief of staff, met them and handed a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Hilario Tal Placido. It ordered him not to bring the American prisoners to Palanan, as it was undesirable that they should see the Dictator's headquarters. They

and a guard of ten men were to remain at a small settlement two miles farther along the trail and eight miles from Palanan. Hilario replied that the order would be carried out, but that as his men were weak from hunger he hoped enough food could be sent to enable them to resume their march the next day. The following morning enough cracked corn to provide a light breakfast was delivered at the settlement where they had spent the night.

As had been arranged in a conference the previous night, an hour after the main body had departed two Macabebes returned to the party of five Americans and their guard of ten men and gave a note to the corporal in charge. He showed it to the old Tagalog who had put up their shelter. It announced a change in orders and stated that the prisoners were to be brought on to Palanan.

They were all so weak, Americans and Macabebes alike, that it took them six hours to cover the eight miles. Every few hundred yards Funston had to lie down and rest. When they were half way to the town, two Macabebes from the main body came running back along the trail and with gestures imposing silence hastily drew them into the woods to hide from some of Aguinaldo's soldiers who were coming to take charge of the "prisoners" in order that their guards might go on and meet the Dictator. In a few moments the group of insurgents went by on their bootless errand. It was Segovia who had dispatched the warning and saved the expedition from disaster.

Meanwhile the main body had arrived at the bank of the wide Palanan river that flowed round the town. Two insurgent officers were in waiting to escort the leaders across in a *banca*. Hilario and Segovia and a number of their men went over with the first load and left instructions for the others to follow as quickly as possible and come to Aguinaldo's house. After all

had crossed, the boat was to be sent back to await the arrival of the last detachment — which, of course, included the American officers.

Hilario and Segovia found Aguinaldo at his headquarters on the second floor of his house, with General Villa, his chief of staff, and six other officers, all armed with revolvers. Outside, fifty of his soldiers, in uniform and armed with Mausers, were drawn up to receive the reinforcements with proper ceremony. Hilario and Segovia were congratulated by the Dictator on their successful march. Then, when all the Macabebes had come up to the little square in front of the house, Segovia, unobserved by Aguinaldo and his officers, gave a signal from an open window. The Macabebes opened fire on the insurgent soldiers standing drawn up opposite, killing two and scattering the others in panic. Aguinaldo, thinking that his men were firing a salute to the reinforcements, rushed to the window to tell them not to waste their ammunition. Hilario sprang on him, threw him to the floor, and held him down, crying, "You are a prisoner of the Americans!" As General Villa was drawing his revolver, Segovia fired, wounding him slightly; he fired again, wounding another officer not too badly. Then, instead of putting up a fight, the wounded man and his comrades leaped out of a window into the river which flowed immediately behind the house and escaped by swimming. Very shortly, however, they were captured. Villa and Aguinaldo's treasurer surrendered.

The Americans with their supposed guard arrived a few minutes after the action. The elated Segovia met them and cried, "We have him!" Aguinaldo showed dignity in humiliation. Funston, who came to know him well, wrote of him, "He is a man of many excellent qualities, far and away the best Filipino I was ever brought in contact with."

According to plan, the *Vicksburg* arrived in Palanan Bay on

May 25, two days after the capture, to take the expeditionary force on board. She took on board also Aguinaldo and his chief of staff, whose wound had been dressed and whose discomfort was mainly mental. It was at an early morning hour that she entered Manila Bay. At six o'clock her steam launch brought Funston and his distinguished prisoners up the Pasig River through Manila to the Malacañan Palace, the house of General MacArthur. The General came down in his dressing gown to greet Funston and was amazed to find that Aguinaldo and his chief of staff were in the house. The American generals and the Filipino prisoners sat down to breakfast together. MacArthur did his best to put his unwilling guests at ease. He told Aguinaldo that he would at once send for his family, whom the Dictator, having been in hiding, had not seen for a long time.

A few days later General MacArthur was able to hand Funston a cablegram from Washington, canceling the order to send him home for mustering out and announcing instead his appointment as a brigadier general in the regular army. The other American officers who had taken part in the capture were also rewarded with regular army commissions. Segovia, Segismundo, Hilario, his two fellow Tagalogs, and all the Macabebes received fitting monetary rewards for their loyal services.

Aguinaldo and his family were given a comfortable house to live in; the guard that was kept over him was as much to protect him from assassination as to prevent his escape. Accepting defeat with good grace, he issued a proclamation urging his followers to desist from their guerilla warfare and submit to American rule.

Funston's work in pacifying Northern Luzon ended in May, 1901, with the surrender of General Lacuna. In September he again had to undergo a serious surgical operation in Manila



and was in the hospital there for three months. Then he was ordered home. In February, 1911, he returned to the Philippines for a short time, but his work for the people of the islands had been done.

Six years later, at the age of fifty-two, he dropped dead while playing with a little child in the lobby of a hotel.

Funston's life was tinged with irony. He fought to help the people of one island win their independence; then on the other side of the world he fought to keep the people of another island from winning their independence. Yet he was no soldier of fortune. In each war he believed with all his heart in the cause for which he fought. He was sure that the Cubans, long in close contact with the United States, were ready for independence; he was equally certain that the Filipinos were not. He was as true a friend of the Filipinos as of the Cubans. He was fated to be often misunderstood; when he was commissioned a brigadier general in the regular army, one of the older generals said of him that he was only a scout. But that was not the opinion of those generals who knew him best. Fearless, resourceful, resolute, imaginative, he was a fighting man without a peer.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

## WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Born September 15, 1857

Graduated from Yale University, 1878

Judge of Ohio Superior Court, 1887

Solicitor General of the United States, 1890

United States Circuit Judge, 1892

President of Philippine Commission, 1900

Governor of Philippines, 1901

Secretary of War, 1904

President of United States, 1909-1913

Chief Justice of United States Supreme Court, 1921

Died March 8, 1930





### 3

## William Howard Taft

AT YALE WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT pulled the strongest oar on the varsity crew. He was a ranking scholar as well as a stalwart athlete. In later years, owing perhaps to the studious and sedentary habits befitting a judge, the figure of the athlete became submerged under a mass of flesh. When he was Governor of the Philippines he weighed about 340 pounds. The unaccustomed tropical climate was hard on him; nevertheless, after a rest in the hills he was able to telegraph to his friend Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, that he had ridden thirty-five miles on horseback to a point five thousand feet above sea level and was feeling fine. Root cabled to him, "How is the horse?" Taft was delighted with the jest and gave it wide publicity.

Humor, even at his own expense, usually appealed to him, but he was not amused when an army song swept the islands, ridiculing his appeal for a new attitude on the part of Americans towards Filipinos. "We should look upon the Filipinos as our little brown brothers," he had said. Some of the Army garrisons in Luzon had known by experience the atrocities that guerilla bands inflicted on captives, whether American soldiers or Filipinos sympathetic with Americans. The theme of the song, composed by an American private, was expressed in the lines:



He may be a brother of big Bill Taft,  
But he ain't no brother of mine.

Taft came to the Philippines avowedly an emissary of good will and conciliation. He defined his policy in a few words — "The Philippines for the Filipinos." His very size, as well as the expression of his countenance, suggested joviality and benevolence. He was too intelligent, however, to entertain the idea that good nature was all that was needed to establish harmonious relations between the Civil Commission (of which he was the head), the American Army, and the Filipino people. Describing his arrival in Manila on June 3, 1900, he said in a speech eleven years later, "We got off at the Anda Monument and went up solemnly and quietly between files of soldiers. The populace that was expected to welcome us was not there, and I cannot describe the coldness of the Army officers and the Army men who received us any better than by saying that it somewhat exceeded the coldness of the populace."

It was only natural that the Army should be disgruntled at an arrival that foreshadowed the transfer of authority from military to civil control. The officers were sincere in their belief that military control would be needed in the Philippines for a long time to come. As a matter of fact, the Washington government had no intention of abrogating it until organized resistance had been put down. But after Aguinaldo had been captured, had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and had published his proclamation on April 19, 1901, calling upon his followers to surrender and take the oath of allegiance, Congress authorized the President to proceed with the establishment of civil government in the Philippines. While there were good grounds for the feeling that from a military point of view this action had been premature, events proved that it was politically sagacious. Elihu Root, as Secre-

tary of War, issued an order directing that the executive authority throughout the archipelago, except for the territory inhabited by the warlike Moro tribes, be transferred from the military governor to a civil governor on July 4, 1901. On that day General Arthur MacArthur gave up his post as military governor, and William Howard Taft was installed as civil governor.

The resentment of the military, and the happy faculty that Taft showed in dealing with the situations that arose out of it, are illustrated by an incident that occurred soon after he became Governor. The Army officers had been instructed that they should not take punitive measures against persons committing criminal acts without a request from the civil government and orders from headquarters in Manila. A gang of bandits whom the local police were unable to cope with entered a town, and began to pillage and rape and commit atrocities. The Army lieutenant stationed in the town ordered out his troops, who rounded up and disarmed the bandits and turned them over to the police. For this action the commanding general mildly reprimanded him and in sending an official report of the incident to Governor Taft "apologized" for the military's "interference" in an affair of the civil authorities. Taft returned the report to the General and added to his indorsement of it the story of a man who on coming back to his native Ohio town after a brief absence learned that the town drunkard and dead-beat had just died. "What complaint?" he asked. "No complaint. Everybody satisfied," was the answer. The Army could not long harbor resentment against a chief who in dealing with them showed both good nature and a ready wit.

Under Governor Taft the Commission proceeded faithfully to carry out the letter and spirit of the instructions received from Secretary Root. They established municipal governments

in which the Filipinos were given as large a share and as much freedom from supervision as was consistent with order and efficiency. Through local self-government the natives were to acquire knowledge and experience that would qualify them for a larger political rôle. The Commission let it be known that they were establishing a government not for the satisfaction of Americans or for the expression of American views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Filipinos. Taxation was to be so regulated as not to penalize or repress industry and enterprise. The American Bill of Rights was to be fundamental law. The system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities was to be extended and improved. All instruction was given in English, even in primary schools; new classes were organized as soon as teachers capable of teaching in English could be found or trained. All American officers and employees were to treat the Filipinos with the same courtesy and respect that the people of the United States were accustomed to expect in one another.

It might be thought that such a liberal program would have been welcomed enthusiastically by all the people whom it was designed to benefit, but many Filipinos were as suspicious of the Americans as were the Trojans of the Greeks bearing gifts. Although the unselfish efforts of Taft and his Commission gradually won appreciation, there were many grudging patriots unwilling to concede that any benefits had resulted. In 1910 a Manila newspaper had this to say about Taft, then President of the United States: "Now that he finds himself at the pinnacle of power he shows himself more disposed than ever to keep the fate of eight million people tied to the proud car of imperialism, which implacably crushes them in denying their capacity to rule their own destinies."

The most virulent agitator for independence might have directed his bitterness against someone less sympathetic than

Taft to Filipino aspirations. He did everything in his power to educate the Philippine people for self-government. In the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, the policy was to change a government of Americans assisted by Filipinos into a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans. Wherever it was possible, Filipinos were appointed to posts in the government service. Those who showed ability and efficiency were sure of promotion. The process of Filipinization of the service antagonized many Americans who had profited by army patronage. One American commercial firm inserted in a Manila newspaper a large picture of Governor Taft and below it the words, "This is the cause of our leaving the Philippines." It was a mere spiteful manifestation of prejudice, as the firm remained and continued to prosper.

Governor Taft's policy of treating his "little brown brothers" as his social equals was even more distasteful to Army and Navy officers than to American civilians. Filipinos were invited to all important social functions at the Governor's palace. After Governor Taft became Secretary of War and the Filipino Assembly had been established, he announced that the Speaker of the Assembly was to rank as the second personage of the Islands, immediately after the Governor General, and should have precedence over the commanding general of American troops in the Islands and the admiral of the Asiatic Fleet, should he happen to be in Manila. The result was that generals and admirals seldom were seen at any functions where the Speaker of the Assembly was likely to be present.

Governor Taft's encouragement of the organization of the Federal party, consisting of Filipinos favorable to American sovereignty and willing to co-operate with the government, infuriated the irreconcilables. It was an act of doubtful wisdom, as it led almost immediately to the formation of the *Nacionalista* party, which campaigned for independence and attracted



a far larger number of voters. In fact, the Federal party soon felt obliged to change its name to *Progresista* and avow as its aim "ultimate independence." That was not good enough for the majority, even though it made some important converts like General Cailles, who had at one time persecuted Filipinos with American sympathies. After a while the Nationalists found that "immediate independence" was a better slogan than mere "independence" in challenging the "ultimate independence" of the Progressives; and some of their more humorous leaders even suggested "explosive independence" as a war cry — not because they advocated any measure involving violence, but because the phrase connoted something more instantly immediate than "immediate."

In spite of setbacks and discouragements, Taft's policy of conciliation made headway. By degrees the people began to understand that the abuses and injustices which they had suffered under Spanish rule were disappearing. A long-standing grievance had been the vast holdings of fertile lands by Spanish friars, of whom there were about a thousand in the Islands and who not only often exacted exorbitant rents from their tenants but also were immune to civil process and were virtual dictators in their territory. In May, 1902, Governor Taft journeyed to Rome and after long and complicated negotiations with the Vatican arranged that the American government should, on generous terms, purchase most of the lands held by the monastic orders in the Philippines. He also arranged that the higher Spanish church officials in the Islands should be replaced by Americans. In less than two years the number of friars was reduced from a thousand to less than a quarter of that number, and the tenant farmers were given contracts under which, by payment of moderate annual amounts, they not only paid a reasonable rental but gradually acquired clear title to their holdings.



From the beginning the Filipinos cordially appreciated American efforts to educate their children. No law for compulsory education was needed. The children flocked to the schools; the American administrators were embarrassed in trying to supply the demand for teachers. A thousand American teachers were brought to the Islands and distributed among the provinces and municipalities, but it was some years before adequate numbers of Filipinos were capable of conducting classes in English, the language required in all instruction. The enthusiasm of the people for the American policy of education was so great that they often gathered to subscribe money for building schools. Volunteers even put up shelters of a temporary character, with bamboo walls and flooring and thatched roofs, to serve as schoolhouses until the government could provide permanent buildings.

The children were taught domestic science and the manual trades. Prizes were given for success in beautifying grounds. Baseball was established as an institution. After Taft went to Washington he encouraged the establishment of a postal savings bank in the Islands. The Philippine government adopted that measure before the United States took a similar enlightened step. In the schools the children were taught the desirability of thrift and saving.

Of course the administration of justice was a subject of prime concern to a Governor who had been a judge. Taft's own summary of the reforms accomplished in this field is as follows:

We have given the Filipinos so far as they are able and intelligent enough to avail themselves of it a system of courts and administration of Justice that will compare favorably with that of any country. . . . The civil code, derived from the Roman law, transferred from Spain to the Philippines, which defines the rights of persons, is a good code, and we did not disturb it. The code of civil procedure was one which kept litigants with its technicalities

pawing in the vestibule of justice forever, and we gave them a new one to render justice speedy and cheap. The criminal procedure was not in accordance with our Constitution or our ideas of the rights of the accused, and it was changed. A law of evidence was introduced, but we did not think, and I do not think now [1913] that the Filipino people are ready for a jury system. Their cases of fact are tried by a court with assessors called in to assist the judge, and then the whole record goes to the Supreme Court of seven judges where the issues of fact are retried. On the whole, the system enables the people of the Philippine Islands to secure a speedy and effective settlement of litigation, and offers to the humblest and poorest individual in the Philippines a complete opportunity to vindicate all his personal rights of liberty and property as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States.

Taft's appointment as Secretary of War by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 made it necessary for him to relinquish his post in the Philippines. The years to come were to bring him higher office, but what he accomplished as Governor of the Philippines will probably be regarded by historians as of more importance than what he accomplished as President of the United States.

LUKE EDWARD WRIGHT

## LUKE EDWARD WRIGHT

Born August 26, 1846

Enlisted in Confederate Army, 1861

Cited for bravery at Murfreesboro, 1863

Student at University of Mississippi, 1867-1868

Member of Philippine Commission, 1900

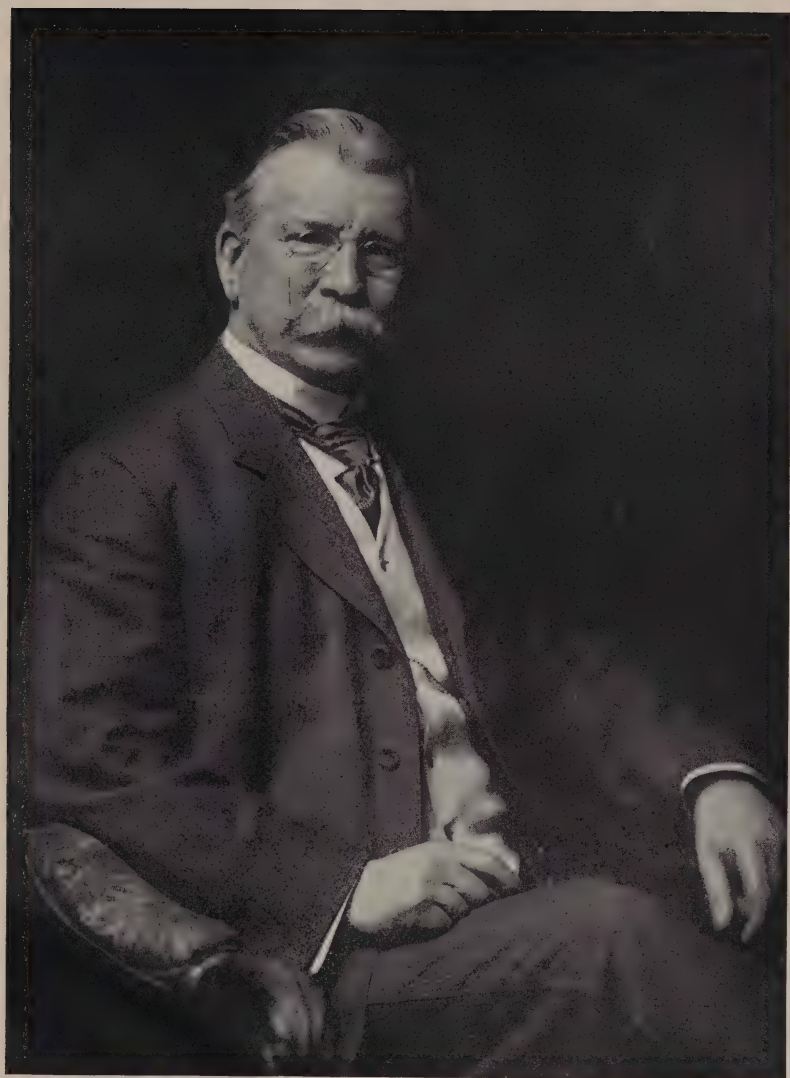
Vice Governor of Philippines, 1901

Governor General of Philippines, 1905

Ambassador to Japan, 1905

Secretary of War, 1908

Died November 17, 1922







## 4

# Luke Edward Wright

IF THE FULL-BLOWN FIGURE of Governor Taft personified the American smile for the Filipinos, it was the task of his aide and successor, Luke E. Wright, to put teeth into the smile. Wright was a robust gentleman from Tennessee. Although he was only fifteen years old when the Civil War began, he enlisted immediately in the Confederate Army. He served through the four years of the war, was severely wounded, and emerged a captain at the age of nineteen. His father had been a justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Luke Wright studied law and became Attorney General of the state. He was made second in command, with the title of Vice Governor, of the Philippine Commission headed by Taft.

The organization of the Constabulary was one of Wright's original conceptions. Having convinced Governor Taft of the necessity of creating such a force, he was assigned the responsibility for it. The Army, actively engaged in putting down insurgents, could not be expected to perform routine police duties. Wright picked several young Army officers — of whom Henry T. Allen, with the temporary rank of brigadier general, was the chief — to co-operate with him in recruiting for the Constabulary seven thousand Filipinos who represented the various provinces and were familiar with the local dialects. These enlisted men proved to be loyal, willing, and

courageous, thus justifying Wright's bold action and confounding the skeptics who had been loud in direful predictions. In building up the prestige of the force, Wright encouraged the formation of a Constabulary band under the direction of Major William H. Loving, an American Negro of exceptional musical gifts and a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music. The band gave concerts in Manila, toured the provinces, and even made several foreign tours, everywhere receiving great acclaim.

In the early days of the Constabulary there was a good deal of friction with the Army, and also with a considerable portion of the populace. Being new and relatively inexperienced, the Constabulary sometimes were needlessly officious and aggressive; the Army resented their pretensions, the people their interference with local customs and activities. But under the wise guidance of Commissioner Wright and the Army officers in command, the force acquired a discipline and discretion that soon made it a model organization of its kind. Its secret service was excellent, its dealing with unlawful acts prompt and decisive. A passage from Governor General Forbes's book, *The Philippine Islands*, illustrates its methods:

On one occasion, when General Harbord was acting chief, an organization which had been working for months planned an insurrection. The night before the outbreak was to occur, six Filipinos were invited to assemble in General Harbord's office, where they found six chairs placed in a row and upon which they were told to sit. He then informed them that an insurrection was planned to break out at ten-thirty the following morning, and that it would be the duty of the Constabulary to put it down; that there would be some loss of life attached to the process, and that probably a good many innocent lives would be lost because the real culprits in these movements usually acted under cover. He informed them that in this case, however, the real instigators of the insurrection were known to the police, and that they would be the first men shot. With this information he opened the door and told

them they could go out and start their insurrection if they wished. Six badly frightened conspirators spent the next ten and a half hours in suppressing a movement they had spent as many months in fomenting. No blood was spilt, no arrests made, and no harm ensued.

Such forbearance eventually had its effect. Within two years a newspaper that had been consistently critical of the government published a most laudatory article on the Constabulary's work.

When Taft was called to Washington in 1904 to become Secretary of War, Wright succeeded him as head of the government with the title of Civil Governor, changed by Act of Congress on February 6th, 1905, to Governor General — the title by which all the succeeding American governors were known. He made some departures from the policy that his predecessor had inaugurated. While he accepted Taft's fundamental policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos," he stated that "the Philippines should be made *worth something* to the Filipinos." That result could be achieved only if the government and the people co-operated in putting an end to banditry, improving communications and public health, and making the Islands far more productive than they had ever been.

He abandoned Taft's policy of appointing to important posts only Filipinos who were members of the Federal party — the party that openly favored the American regime and that attracted sycophants and self-seekers as well as men who sincerely believed that continued American occupation was in the best interest of the people. Many of the ablest and most enterprising Filipinos did not believe that and campaigned for independence; they organized the Nationalist party, which soon commanded a preponderance of votes. Wright was impartial in making appointments from the two parties and came under criticism from both in consequence, as not handing out

rewards to the deserving and as tending too much to appease the disaffected.

Because of his fair-mindedness, which was something that Filipino partisanship could not grasp, he was frequently misjudged — never more so than by one undesirable applicant for office who, after stating his qualifications, intimated that he had in his possession certain facts about the civil government which would produce a very bad impression if printed. Wright immediately showed him the door with the remark, “Your application for a position with the government and your statement that you are in a position to hurt the government come too close together to sit well on my stomach.”

Wright’s efforts to bring the Filipinos greater prosperity than they had ever known before bore fruit. In his brief term of office the contrast between the standard of living under Spanish paternalism and that under the modified democracy of the American government was felt in nearly every Filipino home. In one of his speeches Wright was able to congratulate an audience of Filipinos on having discovered the great truth that it is better to have a government supported by the people than a people supported by the government.

Although there was organized antagonism on the part of a few, there was no doubt about Wright’s popularity with the many. Every Filipino community always made a gala occasion of the visit of a high official. Wright’s tours around the Islands and visits to the provinces and cities were received with such demonstrations that they might almost be called triumphal processions. Houses were decorated, bands turned out (sometimes two or three), parades were elaborately prepared, and there were banquets and the inevitable ball, with young girls giving an exhibition of native dances — always modest.

On one occasion when Wright visited Leyte, some school



children, at one of these elaborate receptions, paraded by with a placard carrying the following:

We study hard, both day and night;  
At last we have learned to write Wright right.

During Wright's term of office a group of very active, intelligent, and patriotic young Filipinos supported wholeheartedly his efforts to arouse a new spirit of progress. They came to realize that they were not working for the United States of America but for the Philippines. Chosen by their own people, they replaced the older Spanish-speaking leaders who had been brought up under the former regime. Later, in 1907, one of them, Sergio Osmeña, though but twenty-nine years old, was unanimously elected Speaker of the Assembly, a position he held with distinction for the next fifteen years. In this period the floor leader of the majority party was Manuel Quezon who had been aide to Aguinaldo at the age of eighteen. He had been Governor of his province and was even younger than the Speaker; he later became Resident Commissioner to the United States, President of the Senate, and the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth. Manuel Tinio, who at the age of twenty had held the rank of major general in Aguinaldo's army fighting against the United States, was in his middle twenties when he was elected Governor of his province. Later, while still young, he held important positions under appointment by American Governors General. Among others who reached early prominence in this period was Manuel Roxas, who, succeeding Osmeña as Speaker, later became the first President of the Philippine Republic. The roster of competent young Filipinos is far too long to give in detail.

Governor Taft had secured the appointment to the Commission of men of riper years. The elective offices very shortly fell to representatives of the younger generation. The elder

statesmen such as Ocampo, Apacible, Agoncillo, Paterno, and Buencamino passed into graceful retirement, respected and honored but no longer in positions of executive control.

In 1900, shortly after coming out to the Islands, Wright and Dean C. Worcester, both then members of the Philippine Commission, had undertaken to find the paradise in the mountains of Northern Luzon of which they had heard tales from Spaniards living in Manila. They had discovered it about a hundred and fifty miles north of Manila, five thousand feet above sea level, in the province of Benguet. The average temperature was 65 degrees, the air fresh and invigorating, the nights cool enough to make a fire desirable. The two explorers had reported their discovery with enthusiasm, and the Commission had at once authorized a project for making the place, later to be known as Baguio, available as the summer capital of the Islands. During his term as Governor General, Wright pushed the work of road building to this place energetically, but it required for completion a far longer time and a greater expenditure of money than had at first been contemplated. Successive future administrations struggled with the formidable task, which, when finished, provided an accessible summer capital and health resort greatly appreciated by both Americans and Filipinos.

In order to effect important economies as well as greater efficiency in administration, Wright appointed in April, 1905, a committee of four to formulate a plan for reorganizing the government. The committee worked industriously for seven months. Its recommendations were enacted into a law known as the Reorganization Act, which Governor General Wright strongly supported before leaving the Islands. His successors profited by the improvements which he had initiated.

These improvements resulted in a saving of a million dollars a year in the cost of government.

The inhabited Philippine Islands number over a thousand; the movement of commodities between peoples, tribes, and provinces had to be largely by water. The merchant marine, owned by various nationalities, did not operate on regular schedules, the service was unsatisfactory and unsanitary, rates were high, and conditions of travel repulsive.

Major General Henry C. Corbin, commanding the Philippines Division, offered his services to Wright in dealing with some of these problems. He was appointed to a committee to investigate port dues and harbor management. As a result of this committee's recommendations, commerce, which had been subject to tonnage dues and other restrictions, was made free within the Islands, and production was stimulated.

Another committee, appointed by Wright to study the merchant marine, devised a system of commercial routes under government supervision. Regular schedules were established, mail subsidies paid, steamers renovated, unsanitary features eliminated. No longer was it possible for officers and agents of ships to refuse perishable freight at ports on the pretext that they had no room for it and later to purchase it at a fraction of its value. Such crooked practices had caused much ill-feeling on the part of the farmers and produce collectors and had sometimes led to serious outbreaks.

In any appraisal of the work of the Americans in the Philippines, particularly during Wright's administration, one should realize the extremely scanty resources at the disposal of the government. Congress had granted authority for the Commission to float one small loan, soon exhausted, for public works; and thus the Philippine Commission was compelled to pay not only all the costs of operating the civil government from its meager revenues, chiefly derived from taxation, but also to limit the money available for construction of public works to what could be saved after paying the operating expenses

and fixed charges of the government. The only expenses defrayed from the Treasury of the United States were the cost of maintaining Army and Navy defenses in the Islands, and a portion of the cost of the Coast Survey.

The per capita revenue of the Philippine Islands in 1908, for instance, was \$1.80. It might be interesting to compare this with \$7.75 for the United States at that time, and with \$18.00 for Belgium. Of course, since the two World Wars the cost per capita of government in the United States has risen to an almost astronomical figure in comparison. The Philippine people did not realize how well off they were in regard to taxation. They were loud in their complaints against the "high taxes" that they imagined were being imposed on them by the Americans. But when a few years later the control of their finances and expenditures was placed in their own hands their taxes were almost immediately trebled.

As an offset, however, to the low cost of government, there was an extremely low per capita debt of the country, amounting to \$1.26, which compared with \$25.00 in Japan, \$29.00 in the United States and \$150.00 in France, all for the year 1908.

Never in history did any colonial government operate on so slender a shoestring. Yet of its achievements Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University — who visited the Islands not long after the close of Governor General Wright's administration — wrote:

The regime of the Philippine Islands is one of the marked successes of the American people. It stands high among the tropical colonial governments of Christendom, for the skill with which it is framed and the efficiency with which it is carried on; it is immeasurably the best government that has ever been known within the Archipelago; furthermore, it is not too much to say that no territory, no city, and no state within the United States has a



system of government so carefully thought out, so well concentrated and so harmonious in its parts as that of the Philippine Islands.

An able administrator, Wright was also humane and compassionate. The plight of the lepers, of whom there were many in the Islands, moved him profoundly. In 1902 the Philippine Commission had appropriated fifty thousand dollars to establish a leper colony, but not much progress was made during the next two years. Then Governor General Wright set aside the island of Culion for the segregation and care of lepers, and about six months later hospital construction was sufficiently advanced to permit the transfer of the lepers to this new home. During the following years the facilities for the care of these unfortunate people were greatly improved and increased.

Another class of unfortunates to whom Governor General Wright gave sympathetic attention were prisoners unjustly jailed and harshly treated. After investigating personally a number of provincial jails, he procured the release of many innocent victims and the punishment of their persecutors. In one province a jail was crowded with persons whom the local justice of the peace had committed, most of them on trumped-up charges. The brother of the justice had the contract for feeding them and was making a handsome profit out of it. The ventilation was inadequate, the air foul, many of the hundred and thirty persons confined in the small building were suffering from tuberculosis. After visiting the jail Wright ordered a special session of the court to be held immediately with an American judge presiding. The result was that many innocent victims were freed, and the two cold-blooded racketeers occupied two of the cells that had been vacated.

In 1904 a delegation of some forty Filipinos visited the United States, dined at the White House with President Theodore Roosevelt, and were entertained in many cities. After



their return to Manila a banquet was given in their honor. Governor General Wright was present. Several of the delegates made speeches demanding independence for the Philippines. Governor General Wright spoke extemporaneously in reply. He reminded the audience that the naked savage in the forest had independence of a sort, that the American colonists had spent years in acquiring the political experience that enabled them to achieve and maintain independence, and that the republics of Latin America, though independent, were subject to chronic disorder. Independence was a fine goal to aim at, but a period of preparation for it was needed.

He did not, of course, convince those who were agitating for immediate independence, but he commanded their respect. His views, presented as always with persuasiveness and charm, won acceptance by many thoughtful Filipinos. Not long before his recall he delivered an address in Manila which caused a newspaper usually critical of Americans to comment as follows:

We know very few orators who excel Mr. Wright in depth, clearness, and connectedness of ideas, in propriety of language, in the marvellous art of bringing his thoughts together in such a way that from any point of view they shine splendidly and in all their roundness. Never like last night did he use his synthetic power to greater advantage, depicting in ten minutes a picture so grand and full of colors and figures; a complete program of government worthy of his elevated views, and bound as a whole to the aspirations of the country.

Wright was no respecter of persons. In 1905, largely owing to his insistence, the Philippine Commission, over which he presided, revised the internal revenue law and increased the taxes on alcoholic liquors and manufactured tobacco. Some of the most influential and prosperous Filipinos who had heavy interests in the distilleries and tobacco factories fought the increase bitterly. They carried their case to the Secretary of

War in Washington, who ultimately ruled against them. Before the decision was reached, the resentful liquor and tobacco magnates formed a cabal and set themselves against Wright to bring about his removal as Governor General. Most unfortunately President Theodore Roosevelt chose that time to recall him from the Philippines and appoint him Ambassador to Japan. The effect on morale in the Islands was what might have been expected. Although the cabal had failed to get a revision of the tax law, their intrigue against the Governor General seemed to have succeeded.

After making a distinguished record as Ambassador to Japan, Wright served as Secretary of War during the latter part of Theodore Roosevelt's administration. President Roosevelt held him in high esteem and later tried to induce him to run for Vice President on the Progressive ticket.

Wright's term of service as Governor General of the Philippines had been brief but important. He brought order, discipline, and efficiency to the Islands at a critical period in their history.



LEONARD WOOD

## LEONARD WOOD

Born October 9, 1860

M.D. from Harvard Medical School, 1884

Captain, U. S. Army, 1891

White House physician, 1895-1898

Colonel of First U. S. Volunteer Cavalry ("Rough Riders"), 1898

Governor of Santiago Province, 1898

Military Governor of Cuba, 1899

Brigadier General, U. S. Army, 1901

Governor of Moro Province, 1903

Major General, U. S. Army, 1903

Commander of Philippine Department of Army, 1906

Chief of Staff, U. S. Army, 1910

Instituted Civilian Training Camps, 1913

Commander of Department of the East, 1914

Instituted Plattsburg Camps, 1915

Member of mission to Philippines with Governor General Forbes, 1921

Governor General of Philippines, 1921-1927

Died August 7, 1927







## 5

# Leonard Wood

LEONARD WOOD is one of the fascinating figures of American history. His military career was fabulous but frustrated, and his civil achievements were greater than his military. He suffered from the ill-judged efforts of admirers seeking to build him up and from the aspersions of detractors trying to belittle him. He was intensely ambitious and sternly self-sacrificing. Wholehearted in his desire to serve his country, he rendered his greatest services willingly, unselfishly, to alien peoples in tropical islands.

A poor boy from Cape Cod, Leonard Wood went through the Harvard Medical School, took his M.D. degree in 1884 at the age of twenty-four, and was appointed an intern at the Boston City Hospital. But his internship was unhappy and brief. In 1885 he was an army contract surgeon without a commission. Twenty-five years later, as Chief of Staff, he held the topmost place in the United States Army. In the interval he had fought Indians in the Southwest and won the Congressional Medal of Honor, had been White House physician during the administration of two Presidents, Cleveland and McKinley, had married and become the father of a family, had organized and equipped the First Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, the "Rough Riders," which he led in the first land action of the Spanish War. He had served as Military Governor of

Santiago, as Military Governor of Cuba, as Civil Governor of the Moro Province in the Philippines, as Major General in command of the Division of the Philippines, and finally as Major General in command of the Department of the East, with headquarters in New York.

He was lean, well formed, of great physical strength and energy, with blonde hair, and blue eyes that could shine with friendly warmth or freeze with icy coldness. He had winning charm of manner and rugged force of character. He sought challenges to his will-power and courage. Once after a football game in which one of his eyelids had been badly cut he stood before a mirror and sewed up the gash with four stitches. In Cuba, having received a head injury which necessitated surgical treatment, he asked the hospital authorities to set up an arrangement of mirrors in order that he might perform the operation himself — and was indignant when they refused. The officers under whom he served in the campaign against the Apaches, from Major General Nelson A. Miles down, gave unstinted praise to his efficiency, fortitude, intelligence, and power of command. The cavalymen who had welcomed joyously the tenderfoot doctor from the East as a perfect subject for their pranks soon accepted him as a fearless, dashing, and at the same time careful leader. Throughout his life, with tireless patience and thoroughness he planned to meet every impending emergency with all available forces effectively disposed. During the war with Spain his powers of organization were so strikingly displayed that the general commanding the American troops in Cuba assigned to him the most difficult of his immediate problems — the command of the surrendered city of Santiago. It was a city of fifty thousand people of whom fifteen thousand were suffering from diseases due to filth and starvation. Of necessity Wood exercised autocratic power;

he cleaned and purified Santiago and won the affection of its people.

In July, 1899, the young Major General of Volunteers, as he now was, who little more than a year before had been one of the least eminent of the graduates of the Harvard Medical School, returned to Cambridge to receive from Harvard University the honorary degree of LL.D. President Eliot cited him as "Harvard doctor of medicine, army surgeon, single-minded soldier, life saver, restorer of a province." Six months later President McKinley appointed him Governor General of Cuba. As Governor of Santiago his problem had been mainly one of sanitation; his medical training had qualified him to administer measures of public health. But as Governor General of Cuba, he was faced with a vast variety of problems. Prison reform was a crying need to which he at once applied himself, and reforms in court procedure followed. He enlisted the services of experts to advise him in such matters. He had a general electoral law drafted under which free elections were held in Cuba for the first time. As the few schools were either private or church schools, Wood had a new system drawn up based on the Ohio and Massachusetts school systems. Within three years, 3,800 public schools were flourishing, and nearly a quarter of the island's revenue was being spent on education. Through Wood's agency in authorizing the necessary experiments, the commission on yellow fever was able to carry its work to its triumphant conclusion.

In all the various branches of his administration, he appointed natives, as far as possible, to fill important executive positions. So well did he fulfill the difficult task of preparing the nation for self-government, so firmly did he establish himself in the esteem and affection of the Cuban people, that upon his death in 1927 the Cuban legislature voted a pension to



his widow even before the Congress of the United States performed a similar gracious act.

In 1903 he received his next and more forbidding assignment, that of Governor of the Moro Province in the Philippines. The Moro Province consisted of a substantial part of the southern shores of Mindanao and the smaller islands of the Sulu Archipelago. The language of the Moros was Malayan, their written characters Arabic. They had little sympathy with the Filipinos to the north. In the hill country of Mindanao and in some of the other islands there were several tribes who had their own pagan religion and customs and who, because of their geographical situation, were included under General Wood's command. All the people of these islands had been neglected by the Spaniards, who had, however, maintained garrisons along the coast to furnish protection from the forays of pirates. Among the Moros a feudal system existed, with local autocratic power in the hands of petty sultans, rajahs, and *datus*. There were no roads. Only trails through forest and jungle connected one settlement with another, except those that could be reached by sea. The people of the Moro Province were given to banditry. They had had little contact with the old-world civilization as represented by Spain, and almost none with the new world. Into this unpromising territory Leonard Wood, now regarded as the United States government's ace trouble shooter, was projected.

From his headquarters at Zamboanga he and his staff made frequent and often hazardous journeys into the interior and to neighboring islands. His ablest assistant and alternate as Governor was Captain Frank R. McCoy (now a major general and permanent Chairman of the International Far Eastern Mission); as commander of his Constabulary he had Colonel (later Lieutenant General) James G. Harbord. Wrote Colonel Harbord in 1904:

In Zamboanga the Moslem and Christian have been enlisted in about equal proportions. For a time it was supposed that the well-known dislike of the Moro to eat with the Filipino, a feeling which is reciprocated with interest, was unconquerable, but the experience of eight months shows that Moslem, pagan, and Christian amalgamate with but little friction. Separate messes have been abolished. Tribal lines are disappearing, the loyalty to his new corps and white officers replacing the allegiance paid by the Moro to his hereditary datu for many ages. The objection of the Islam to a hat with a brim was met by the authority of the chief of constabulary for the use in the Moro Province of a red fez with a black tassel. The Moro is proud to wear that, and the result is a very smart and attractive uniform.

General Wood was the most patient of governors. He never used drastic measures until he had exhausted all his arts of conciliation and persuasion. He was exceedingly clever in bringing tribal heads into line by peaceful means.

On the island of Jolo under the Rajah Mudah there was so much disorder that Wood himself led an expedition of American troops to deal with the situation. They camped near Maibun, the town where the Rajah lived, and Wood sent a couple of officers and a company of infantry to call on him. They found him reclining on a couch in a large bamboo enclosure with his numerous wives about him. He showed amazement and displeasure at the intrusion on his privacy. One of the officers explained politely that they had come with a guard of honor to conduct him into the presence of the Governor, who desired to make his acquaintance. The Rajah replied coldly that he was ill and could not go. The officer inquired as to the nature of his illness. He had a boil. The second officer, Colonel Hugh Scott (later Major General and Chief of Staff), took a hand. "Show it!" he commanded bluntly. The Rajah with a look of disdain for such impudence indicated that modesty forbade. "Show it!" repeated Scott, and the soldiers moved a little nearer. The Rajah then said that

rather than submit to the indignity required of him he would allow himself even at the risk of his health to be conducted by the guard of honor to the Governor.

General Wood received him with the utmost graciousness, showed him round the camp, and ordered several small artillery pieces to be fired for his amusement. Then Wood remarked that he would not like to use these weapons against the Rajah and his people, but that a good deal would depend upon the Rajah's ability to restore order throughout the island. For the time being, the hint proved to be all that was needed.

Some time later on the island of Jolo occurred an episode for which General Wood was harshly and unjustly censured in the United States. A gang of outlaws, well armed, arrived from Borneo and established themselves in the crater of Bud Dajo, an extinct volcano. A number of native bandits and their families joined them. They fortified the slopes with a series of breastworks and set up a brass cannon to command the main approach. Then from their fortress they made raids on the surrounding country. The Moros appealed to General Wood for protection.

Hesitating to attack because among the six hundred in the crater there were some women and children, he undertook negotiations for their removal. While these were in progress, he was called to Manila to command the Philippines Division of the Army. He left General Tasker H. Bliss to deal with the outlaws in Bud Dajo. After his arrival in Manila the cable connection with Jolo was broken, and no word of what was happening on that island reached him. As soon as possible he returned to Jolo with Captains McCoy and Gordon Johnston and arrived just as the assault under Captain John R. White had begun. Captains McCoy and Johnston took part in it. It was a savage fight; the Constabulary, nearly all Moros, and the American troops together stormed and carried four-

teen breastworks on the terraced slopes. Captain White and Captain Johnston were severely wounded. The outlaws fought to the death; not one surrendered. Although some of the women and children had been evacuated, most of those who had entered the crater remained to fight and die with the men.

The extermination of the Bud Dajo garrison shocked people in the United States. General Wood, although he had not ordered the attack and had not been present when it was begun, assumed full responsibility for it; he had been in command when the situation first developed, and he would have, doubtless, like General Bliss, found no alternative. He was represented by the Anti-Imperialist press as a ruthless proconsul who sent his troops on campaigns of indiscriminate slaughter. A man who was humane and always reluctant to resort to force suffered under a cruelly unjust reproach. It was not understood in the United States that the Moro Province was inhabited by tribes constantly fighting with one another, raiding one another to take slaves, and running pirate ships among the islands to prey upon the coast towns. That in three years such a wild and disorganized population was brought under some measure of control was an extraordinary achievement.

In his three years as Governor of the Moro Province, General Wood established coastal trading stations to which the hill people might bring their products; his patrol boats curbed piracy; he set up district courts, with local priests as advisers, from which appeal might be taken to insular courts before American judges; he brought the elements of civilized life within the reach of the people.

In Manila, as Commander of the Philippines Division of the Army, his attitude toward the members of the civil government was friendly, co-operative, and quite unlike the offishness of the military at the time of Taft's arrival and incumbency as Civil Governor. Having been a civil administrator himself,



he was sympathetic with those who held similar posts. He insisted, however, that the Philippine Scouts, who had originally been auxiliaries of the Army but most of whom had been transferred to the temporary control of the Constabulary to assist in the pacification of disturbed areas, should be returned to Army control, subject to recall by the Governor General in an emergency.

By restoring to civil use property that the Army no longer needed — notably certain barracks in Manila which were valuable for school purposes — he enabled the civil government to avoid much costly construction.

In 1908 he was transferred to Governor's Island in New York Harbor as Commander of the Department of the East, and in 1910 he was appointed Chief of Staff. He introduced needed reforms in Army discipline, but his most important work as Chief of Staff during the next four years was in rousing the country to the need of military preparedness. He persuaded the universities to start reserve officers' training camps. He conceived and organized the Plattsburg Camp, which became the pattern for subsequent training camps. He went about the country with the fervor of an evangelist exhorting and organizing. Many good people disliked his activities and were dismayed by them; they denounced him as a militarist. In a short time events showed how wrong they were, how right he was. When in 1917 the United States entered the First World War, it made its strength felt as it could never have done had it not been for Wood's work in awakening and preparing the nation during and after the years he served as Chief of Staff.

General Wood hoped that he might be given command of the American Expeditionary Forces. He was assigned instead merely to the task of training an American division for shipment overseas.

In 1920 he was a leading candidate for the Republican



nomination for the Presidency. Senator Harding, however, was nominated and elected. Soon after his inauguration, President Harding offered Wood the position of Governor General of the Philippines. At first he declined, having already accepted an appointment as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, but he expressed his willingness to go to the Philippines and report on conditions there. President Harding then appointed a commission of two, consisting of General Wood as chairman and former Governor General W. Cameron Forbes, to ascertain conditions in the Philippine Islands and report whether — in the words of Secretary of War Weeks — “the Philippine government is now in a position to warrant its total separation from the United States Government.”

President Harding's relations with the Philippines and the work of his commission were embarrassed by the fact that on December 7, 1920, after the Democratic party had been decisively defeated and could have no control over the policy of the newly elected administration, President Wilson had sent a message to Congress calling for the immediate grant of independence to the people of the Philippine Islands.

The commission spent four months visiting every province in the Archipelago and many of the sub-provinces. They held many public sessions at which anyone desiring to speak was given a hearing, and countless private interviews. They found the desire for independence to be almost universal but accompanied by misgivings as to whether the Filipinos were yet ready for it. Not infrequently men would declaim eloquently in public demanding independence and would express in private the opinion that to grant it would be a mistake. A striking bit of testimony was a document signed by most of the leading men of Jolo, in the Moro Province, asking the United States to annex the Moro territory and give it a permanent government of Americans — an expression of apprecia-

tion that must have been gratifying to the first Governor of the Moro Province.

Besides considering the question of independence, the Commission made a thorough analysis of the state of the government. They found that since 1913, when Governor General Francis Burton Harrison had been inducted into office, the cost of government had more than doubled and that the administrative departments were "top-heavy in personnel and enmeshed in red tape" — an ironical reminder of his censorious comment at the time of his inauguration when he had charged his predecessor with waste and maintenance of a top-heavy bureaucracy. The finances of the administration were in confusion, the Philippine National Bank had been mismanaged, the credit of the government, which had been involved in its losses, had been impaired. The Commission, however, was able to report favorably on the progress made in education and, generally speaking, on the growth of trade, manufacture, and agriculture.

The final recommendations of the Commission were that the existing status of the Islands should continue until the people should have mastered the powers already in their hands, and that "under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority."

President Harding, declaring that a national emergency existed, again asked General Wood to take the post of Governor General, emphasizing the fact that there would be no backward steps in the Philippines. In other words, neither the powers conferred upon the Filipinos by Congress nor those conferred upon the Governor General by Congress should be lessened or removed. Wood accepted the appointment. In the latter part of 1921 he returned to the Islands as Governor

General, a post which he was to hold until the end of his life. One of the first things that he had to do was to secure from Congress \$35,000,000 to restore the Government's credit and the solvency of the trust funds. He brought about the efficient operation of bureaus and departments which had become lax. He gave close attention to all matters of public health and especially to the care of lepers.

During President Wilson's eight years in office, the Filipinos had been allowed an increasingly large share in the government of the Islands. The Assembly had passed laws reducing the Governor General's powers, and President Wilson's Governor General had not vetoed those laws. Wood used his veto power freely, to the dismay of many Filipino politicians who had become accustomed to an easygoing, acquiescent executive. He checked a growing tendency of the Filipino government to embark upon enterprises that, according to American tradition, should be left to private initiative. The voting control of the stock of corporations taken over by the government had been vested under the preceding administration in a triumvirate known as the Board of Control, consisting of the Governor General and the presidents of the two branches of the legislature. By this arrangement the Governor General could always be outvoted. Governor General Wood abolished the board and was sustained by the Philippines Supreme Court.

In 1923 an issue arose between General Wood and the Filipino leaders over the reinstatement of an American police officer in Manila; General Wood had ordered the reinstatement after investigation had shown the officer to be the victim of a conspiracy. The five secretaries of executive departments resigned; the presiding officers of the two legislative houses charged the Governor General with violation of law and "a curtailment of Filipino autonomy." Wood accepted the resig-

nations of the cabinet officers and denied the charges. The secretaryships remained vacant for months, because the men whom Wood wished to appoint were not confirmed by the Filipino Senate, under the leadership of its aggrieved president, who toured the provinces making speeches against the Governor General. A Commission of Independence, consisting of the members of both houses of the legislature, indorsed the position taken by the presidents of the two houses and denounced the Governor General's actions as "illegal, arbitrary, and undemocratic." Later the two houses in joint session passed a resolution calling for the immediate removal of Governor General Wood and the appointment of a Filipino in his place. Wood received a cable from the Secretary of War saying: "You are entitled to the support of the administration, and you have it."

Then a commission of leading Filipinos visited the United States to urge the granting of independence and cited their unhappy relations with the Governor General as evidence that it should not be delayed. President Coolidge replied that according to his information the Filipinos had no serious grievances. Apart from their natural sentiment in favor of independence, they had acquired, through the indulgence of Wood's predecessor, more control of the executive functions of government than was warranted by law. Their dissatisfaction with Wood's administration was due to his determined resistance to the encroachments of the legislature on the executive authority. And as he gradually restored to the executive the functions that belonged to it, the increased efficiency of government caused a more willing acceptance of his authority, even though the sentiment for independence did not abate.

In 1927 Wood returned to the United States for a surgical operation. He died on the operating table.

He might have spent his last years in comfort in America,

filling a dignified position as head of a great university, but he chose instead what seemed to him the path of duty, and followed an often unpopular course in the service of a people whose interests he always had sincerely at heart.

Constructive achievements more than military victories entitle Leonard Wood to an enduring place in history.





DEAN CONANT WORCESTER

DEAN CONANT WORCESTER

Born October 1, 1866

A.B. from University of Michigan, 1889

Collecting trips to Philippines, 1887 and 1890

Author of *The Philippine Islands*, published 1888

Member of First Philippine Commission, 1899

Member of Second Philippine Commission, 1900

Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of Interior,  
1900-1913

Author of *The Philippines, Past and Present*, published  
1914

Died May 2, 1924







## 6

# Dean Conant Worcester

OF THE FIVE MEMBERS of the first Philippine Commission two were natives of Vermont and sons of country doctors. One of these, George Dewey, in the Battle of Manila Bay had achieved world-wide renown; the other, Dean Worcester, about thirty years younger than the Admiral, was virtually unknown. Yet in a short time the youngest and least known member of the Commission was wielding a more potent influence than the Admiral or the General or the former Minister to China or the Chairman himself, who had the prestige of being president of a great university. That fact alone marks Dean Worcester as an extraordinary man.

From his native town of Thetford in the Vermont hills he had gone to the University of Michigan where he had become absorbed in the study of zoology. When in the spring of 1886 Professor Joseph B. Steere, head of the Department of Zoology, announced that he would spend the following year collecting in the Philippine Islands and would like to take a few students with him, Worcester determined to join the expedition. He was earning his way through the University at a total expenditure of about \$375 a year, but his ingenuity rose to the challenge of the occasion. He insured his life for \$1500 and managed to borrow \$1200 on the policy. So that summer he and two other young men accompanied Professor Steere to

the Philippines. They endured great hardship and were exposed to many perils. In the last month Worcester suffered so severely from typhoid fever that on his return to his Vermont home the physician whom his alarmed family called in thought that he would not live a week. His hardy constitution, however, enabled him not only to recover but also to return to college for the autumn term. At that time he had no desire ever to see the Philippines again.

After graduation in 1889 he became an instructor in the university. Within six months he was finding the life of a teacher dull; the love of adventure as well as the spirit of scientific research was again stirring in him. One of his fellow explorers in the Philippines, Doctor Frank S. Bourne, was experiencing a similar restlessness. The two young men decided to return to the Islands on a two years' collecting expedition. After they had raised the necessary funds President Angell of the University procured for them through the State Department a royal order from the Spanish government to facilitate their explorations.

The two years that Worcester had expected to spend in the Islands lengthened to two years and a half. The result of his experiences he set forth in a volume entitled *The Philippine Islands*, published by the Macmillan Company in 1898. The expedition was both a profitable and a costly adventure. Worcester became fluent in Spanish and Visayan, one of the more important native dialects, and he acquired a rich fund of scientific and political knowledge. But again his health suffered; after a long illness he returned home with a permanent physical disability which through the years that remained to him he completely ignored. He resumed his work on the zoological staff of the University of Michigan, married, and settled down to the life of a college professor.

Before the Battle of Manila Bay, American ignorance of the Philippines was typified by the question that a Vermont neighbor put to Worcester on his first return from the islands: "Deanie, are them Philippines you have been a-visitin' the people that Paul wrote the Epistle to?" Worcester took it upon himself to bring light concerning the Philippines into the darkness that surrounded even the most eminent, and by so doing he altered the whole course of his life. He had obtained leave of absence from the University of Michigan to go abroad to study; in December, 1898, on his way to New York to engage passage he stopped off in Washington in order, as he reported, "to communicate to President McKinley certain facts relative to the Philippine situation which it seemed to me ought to be brought to his attention."

The calm assurance of the young man who thus determined to bring to the attention of the President of the United States certain facts that he ought to know is worthy of note. It was one of the traits that so often gave Worcester command of difficult situations; it also at times irritated people and prejudiced them against him. President McKinley was not irritated; he was grateful for the information presented and so much impressed by the big, rugged, bearded young man who spoke with such authority that at the end of the interview he asked him if he would be willing to go to the Philippines as his personal representative. Startled by this immediate consequence of his mission of enlightenment, Worcester asked for a week in which to think it over. After going home and consulting his family, he accepted the appointment. Meanwhile President McKinley had decided to send a commission instead of a single representative and asked him to serve on it. The young man who in December had been on the point of sailing for Europe to pursue the study of zoology was a month later

on his way across the Pacific on a government mission to the Philippines. For the remainder of his life his home and his interests were in the Islands.

In addition to Worcester, the members of the first Philippine Commission were President Schurman of Cornell University as chairman, Admiral Dewey, Major General Elwell S. Otis, and Colonel Charles Denby, who for thirteen years had been Minister to China. When the Commission reached Manila, fighting between the insurgents and the American troops had begun just outside the city. In the circumstances there was nothing much that the Commissioners could do. Worcester with his propensity for getting into the thick of trouble did some independent scouting along the front lines and was severely reprimanded by army officers in the neighborhood. Commenting on the failure of his army friends to appreciate his interest in military matters Worcester observed, "I had, however, long since discovered that reliable first-hand information on any subject is likely to be useful sooner or later." He serenely continued his hazardous investigations. Having picked up information about intended troop movements, he climbed into the tower of the Caloocan church at the right moment to witness the American attack. Immediately after the insurgents had been routed he came down and walked along the trenches; he noticed that American soldiers had left canteens of water within reach of wounded Filipinos.

The Springfield *Republican* published an account of this fight, written by a soldier who stated that the American troops after bombarding the town of Malabon had entered it and killed every man, woman and child in the place. What motive an American soldier could have for sending to a newspaper at home a completely false report besmirching the army in which he served does not appear, but the article was reproduced in many American newspapers. On reading it Worces-



ter at once dispatched a long cablegram to the *Chicago Times-Herald* giving the facts. From his own observation, he knew that the Americans had not bombarded Malabon, had bypassed it instead of entering it, and had not killed a single inhabitant; in fact, all women, children, and non-combatants had been removed from the town before the fighting began. President McKinley told him later that if there had been no other result from the visit of the first Philippine Commission than the sending of that cablegram he should have considered the money appropriated for the Commission's services well spent. It was not the only instance when Commissioner Worcester's incorrigible habit of seeking firsthand information had fortunate results.

On April 4, 1899, the Commission issued a proclamation setting forth the purposes of the American government. It was translated into Tagalog and other dialects and widely circulated. The insurgent leaders forbade their people to read it and threatened them with dire punishment if they disobeyed. The more conservative Filipinos read it and were favorably impressed. By March, 1900, conditions had improved sufficiently to warrant setting up civil government in the Islands.

Meanwhile, relations among the five members of the Commission had not always been harmonious. The chairman, Doctor Schurman, was a volatile person who changed his mind suddenly and unpredictably. In the beginning he advocated so severe a policy towards the insurgents that Worcester and Denby protested. A few days later Worcester met him on his return from a short trip which had given him his first view of the aftermath of war. Worcester had hard work keeping him away from the cable office; Schurman wanted to tell the American people that the war must be stopped at once. The next morning he was convinced that it must go on. In 1900 he signed the following statement



issued by the Commission: "Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the Commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy." Some time after he had returned to America he said in a public address, "Any decent kind of government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans." With such a weathercock as chairman of the Commission it is not unnatural that among the other members considerable dissatisfaction prevailed.

Worcester was the only member of the first Commission to be appointed by President McKinley to the second Commission, headed by William H. Taft. General Arthur MacArthur, who had succeeded General Otis as military governor of the Islands, informed the Commissioners on their arrival that they were "an injection into an otherwise normal situation" and that the Filipinos needed "military government pinned to their backs for ten years with bayonets." Nevertheless, as the months passed, the General showed an unexpected degree of friendly co-operation in preparing the various provinces for the establishment of civil government.

The second Philippine Commission spent three months in studying conditions in the Islands. On the 4th of July Taft was appointed civil governor, and each member of the Commission was given an executive office. Worcester was appointed Secretary of the Interior, a post which he held for the next twelve years. In that capacity he organized and conducted a number of bureaus, such as those for health, science — the first Bureau of Science to be established by a government anywhere — forestry, agriculture, mining, weather, and non-Christian tribes — the last an awkward phrase to designate the wild tribes scattered through the archipelago who in customs, language, and religion had little in common with the Filipinos. Under his intelligent administration the

Bureau of Forestry in particular became a model of what such a bureau should be. The building of the General Hospital in Manila, the first institution of the kind that was adequate to the needs of the citizens, was largely due to his energy and persistence. Although the government was short of funds and all the departments had to practice rigid economy, he secured the necessary appropriations from the legislature and vigorously pushed the work of design and construction. He was the moving spirit, too, in creating the Medical School, which with its staff of well-trained and brilliant young men soon achieved a high reputation.

But it was in the work among the non-Christian tribes that Worcester took the greatest interest. He felt it his duty to inform himself thoroughly concerning the inhabitants of the more inaccessible and unexplored regions; every year he spent from two to four months visiting them, going on horseback over trails wholly impassable for wheeled vehicles. The Spaniards had never attempted to dominate the wild tribes and had been indifferent to the occasional enslavement of tribesmen by Christian Filipinos. Some of the wild people had terraced the mountains with a skill that showed remarkable scientific aptitude; on the terraces they produced rice and on the hillsides a kind of sweet potato. Pigs, chickens, and carabao they kept in the valleys near their villages. The wild tribes in the northern part of Luzon received much of Worcester's attention, as they had been particularly subject to ill-treatment. They were suspicious and hostile when he first came among them; but later his companions on his travels were amazed to see the wild men swarming out of their huts to welcome him, waving American flags and greeting him with vociferous cheers.

While Worcester was in charge of the Health Bureau, the improvement in the health of the people of the Islands was

marked. He was greatly aided in his efforts by Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who, while continuing as Chief Quarantine Officer, became Director of Health, and did most effective work not only in checking the ravages of smallpox, cholera and plague, but also in disseminating the principles of hygiene. It took time and perseverance for Worcester and his aides to overcome the resistance of the people they were striving to benefit. Sanitary inspectors and vaccinators were often beaten; several of them were killed. Cholera victims sometimes had to be removed to hospitals by force. False stories were spread concerning the treatment that patients received in hospitals. And the ignorance and inertia of people who were accustomed to conditions of filth and saw no reason to change their way of life were difficult to overcome.

Although Worcester had numerous hair-raising adventures and hairbreadth escapes in his travels among the wild tribes, his paternal interest in them was warm and lasting. He had greater sympathy with them than with the Filipinos; he declared that the only thing which kept him in the Philippine service so long was his fear that if he withdrew from it the progress the tribesmen were making might be arrested through renewed persecution or neglect. In dealing with savage peoples, some of them head-hunters, he owed some measure of his success and perhaps even his survival to his fearless and confident bearing.

In 1905, accompanied only by another American and a former insurgent officer, he entered a Kalinga village in northern Luzon and found assembled there more than a hundred fighting men armed with shields and head axes. One of several chiefs present — fortunately in command of these men — was friendly; the others after a whispered conversation among themselves suddenly ran away. The friendly chief explained that they had urged him to kill the Americans at

once and so discourage the further intrusion of white men. Now they had gone to collect their own people and prepare an ambush. The friendly chief and a few of his men got the visitors safely past the ambushade, but then the mob that had been assembled followed and surrounded a village where Worcester and his companions took refuge for the night. In spite of the intervention of the friendly chief, the savages shouted that they would have their heads. In the morning when Worcester and his companions came out of the hut that had sheltered them, the hostile savages closed in on them threateningly.

At that moment a Kalinga runner arrived with a letter for Worcester about some baggage that had been left behind. The hostile chiefs showed alarm and asked Worcester if the letter meant that soldiers were coming. In his most imperious manner Worcester replied that they would certainly come unless he and his companions were treated with respect. After a little hesitation the warriors departed and Worcester and his companions proceeded unmolested on their way.

Another time when he was trying to run some dangerous rapids, his raft was dashed to pieces and he narrowly escaped drowning. A few days later he was attacked by malaria and bronchitis, which developed into pneumonia. Nevertheless he continued his trip on horseback for five days; then he became so ill that the friendly Ifugaos accompanying him had to carry him in a blanket slung under a pole — no easy task, for he was a giant of a man. When they arrived at a steep ascent, as they frequently did, he had to get on his feet and climb with their assistance. At last he reached Baguio and was put to bed. But his heart had suffered such a strain that he was never again able to make a difficult trip on foot. However, he would and did go anywhere on horseback or by boat.

In 1909 he made an inspection trip to Palawan, one of the



few provinces which, although allowed to elect members for the legislature, had American governors. Two savage tribes, the Tagbuanos and the black dwarf Bataks, lived in the northern part of the island; in the southern part were a few Moro villages which were geographically outside the Moro Province. Worcester found Mrs. Miller, the wife of the governor, greatly disturbed because her husband, who had gone down the coast to arrest some Moro murderers, had not returned. He sped at once in his steam launch in search of Miller's craft. He found it safely anchored and, going ashore, found Miller too. The governor had arrested some of the criminals but was still dickering for the surrender of the local chief's brother, who had instigated the murder and who was at a village near-by. Miller told the chief, Dato Pula, that he would return at a certain hour and would expect then to find the criminal awaiting him. Leaving a party of soldiers on Miller's boat to guard the prisoners, Worcester went back with the governor to relieve Mrs. Miller's apprehension; then the two men returned to pick up Dato Pula's brother. There were five armed men in the party. Miller sent one of them ahead to order the chief and his retainers to come to the meeting unarmed.

As Worcester, Miller, and the other two white men walked up the village street, a number of fully armed Moros came running and crowded into the house next to Pula's. On entering Pula's house the white men found that it too was filled with armed warriors. The Americans seated themselves on a table, back to back, each one with his rifle or six-shooter ready. The conference with Pula lasted for hours, interrupted now and then by dance music played on a phonograph that the Americans had thoughtfully brought with them. The Moros liked the music and danced to it enthusiastically. After insisting for a long time that his brother was innocent, Pula finally



yielded and said that he would deliver his brother on board, but that before being taken into custody he must be allowed to go home and get some clothes. The Americans agreed to wait for him on the boat. When they left Pula's house and walked down to the shore, all the armed warriors in the village followed them closely. Expecting an attack from behind at any moment, they marched on with an air of unconcern. Perhaps because of their display of cool indifference they reached the boat unharmed; and there within a short time Pula, true to his word, turned the criminal over to them.

This episode was only one of many in which Worcester, armed with not much more than the power of his strong personality, risked his life. In the end, as has been already indicated, the wild people came to trust him, and he found that he could trust them.

His relations with the Filipinos never became satisfactory. From the first he had been outspoken in opposing those who were constantly clamoring for independence. With reason the Nationalist newspapers concentrated their animosity on him. Governor General Wright once remarked, "When Blackstone wrote in his Commentaries that an assault cannot be committed by words only, he had not known Worcester." In 1906 one of the Manila newspapers, in an effort to drive him from office, made such baseless and injurious accusations that he caused a criminal action to be brought against the owners and editors and also instituted a civil suit for damages. In the criminal case the authors and instigators of the defamatory attacks were found guilty and sentenced to fine and imprisonment; in the civil suit Worcester was awarded substantial damages.

His winning of this suit did not enhance his popularity with the Filipinos. Three years later he antagonized them by his manner of conducting an attack on slavery. Although slavery

was not recognized as legal, there was no penalty for slaveholding. Sporadic instances of slavery were brought to Worcester's attention; Negritos and Igorots were the principal victims. Under his prompting the Philippine Commission passed a bill penalizing slavery and peonage, and sent it to the Assembly for their concurrence. The Assembly tabled the measure. Annually, from 1909 to 1913, the Commission sent the anti-slavery bill to the Assembly for action, and the Assembly took no action. The Filipinos were determined to block any measure on which Worcester had set his heart.

The circumstances that caused this unfortunate situation were curious. In an effort to awaken the Filipinos to the iniquity of a practice that was not unknown among them, Worcester had made a speech reminding them of bygone days when the Moros used to raid their villages and carry off their women and young girls as slaves. Then, trying to dramatize the scene more effectively and give it emotional appeal, he told how on such occasions the Filipino villagers fled in terror to the hills. The speech produced exactly the wrong impression — one that Worcester would have been most unwilling to convey. The Filipinos felt that he had cast a slur upon them. He knew them too well deliberately to impute to them lack of courage; indeed, only a short time before he made the speech, on a second visit to the Moro villages in Palawan he would have fallen a victim to an ambush had not the guard of Filipino Scouts who accompanied him gallantly fought off the Moros and routed them. But, to the Filipinos, Worcester's remarks about villagers who took to the hills to escape from raiding Moros, though meant innocently enough, seemed peculiarly offensive. That their opposition to the bill penalizing slavery was based on purely personal grounds was made plain when, in 1913, after Worcester was out of office, the Assembly promptly passed the anti-slavery act.

Up to 1913 the administration of the Philippine Islands had been free from any taint of politics. During Republican administrations in Washington there had been both Democratic and Republican Governors General in the Philippines. But in 1913, Francis Burton Harrison, a Tammany Hall Democrat, was appointed Governor General by President Wilson. His attitude on assuming office is indicated by an interview in which he said, "For years I have been of the minority in Congress and have seen the Democrats kicked about, trampled upon, and otherwise manhandled by Republicans, so that I must confess it now gives me a saturnine pleasure to see the Democrats in a position to do the same thing to the Republicans." He conducted his administration in this blithely vindictive spirit.

Worcester retired quite contentedly to private life — not in America, but in the Philippine Islands, which he and his family had come to regard as their home. He had a comfortable house at Baguio and another at Opon on the island of Mactan — the same island where the explorer Magellan had lost his life. Worcester became interested in various business enterprises and was engaged successfully in developing the agricultural and commercial possibilities in the Islands when his life was cut short on May 2, 1924, by a heart attack, a direct consequence of the hardships he had suffered in his explorations.

Dean Worcester was a man of extraordinary physical and mental vigor. Precluded by his strained heart from the more active physical exercises, he was keen to indulge in any kind of sport suited to his impaired vitality. On one occasion, invited to join an expedition to test the hitherto unexplored possibilities for sport in deep-sea fishing, he went out in a power boat, trolling with a rod suitable for catching tarpon. His first catch — a fifteen-pound fighting fish — literally

"caught" Worcester. As the fish, expertly gaffed by the Filipino boatman, came over the side, he shouted, "I have wasted sixteen years of my life." From that time on he was an ardent devotee of the sport. He loved not only the sea but also the woods; and to his enjoyment of them he brought the observant eye of the trained scientist.

The same observant eye was invaluable to him in his dealings with men, whether the primitive head-hunters of the hills or the slick and slippery politicians of the towns. He was a leader who inspired respect and devotion in his followers and fear in his enemies. His energy never let him rest. Besides faithfully carrying out various administrative tasks that were enough to tax a strong man's strength and fill all his time, he produced a comprehensive and authoritative work on the Philippine Islands, written in a racy style expressive of the free spirit of the man. His warmth of heart was accompanied by a fervor of feeling that sometimes operated to defeat his aims; but his aims were noble and his efforts unselfish to the last.

FRANK WATSON CARPENTER



## FRANK WATSON CARPENTER

Born June 16, 1871

Enlisted in U. S. Army, 1889

Secretary to General Henry W. Lawton in Philippines,  
1899

Secretary to Military Governor of Philippines, 1900

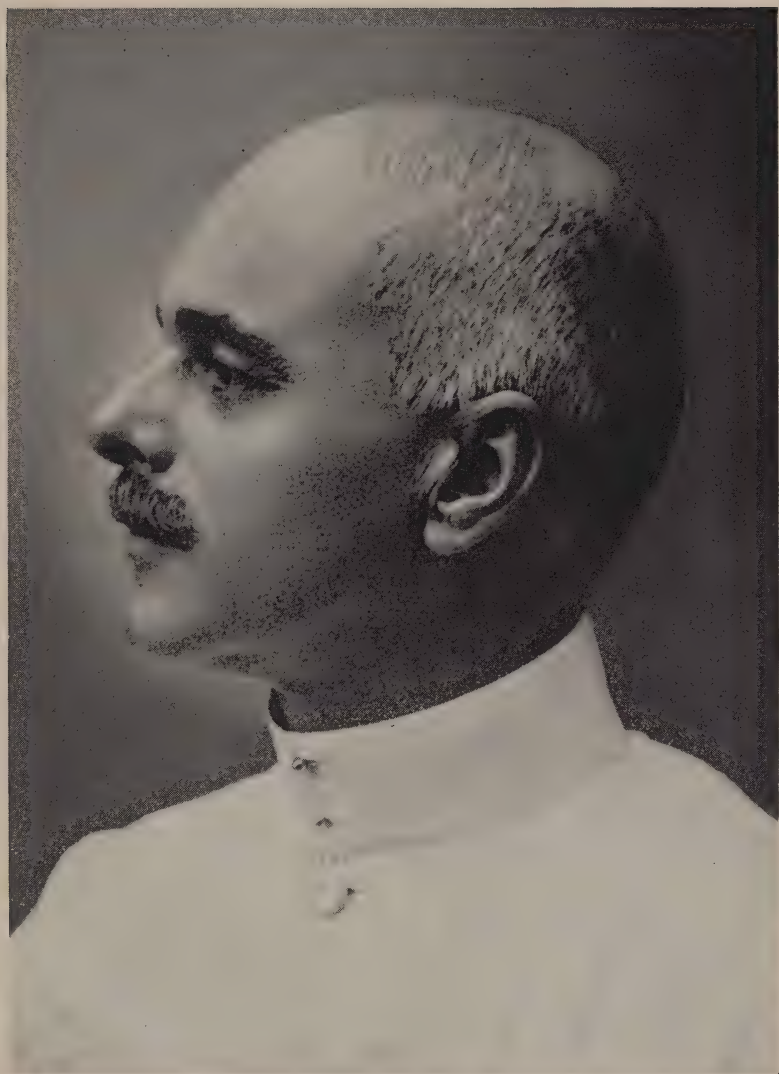
Assistant Executive Secretary of Philippine Commission,  
1903

Executive Secretary of Philippine Commission, 1908

Governor of Moro Province, 1913

Governor of Department of Mindanao and Sulu, 1914-  
1922

Died February 28, 1945





## 7

# Frank Watson Carpenter

FRANK CARPENTER'S FATHER, a farmer, was sheriff of Saratoga County, New York. One of his ancestors had been William Carpenter, who came from Amesbury, England, to Hingham, Massachusetts, in 1635, and later went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he was one of the founders of the First Baptist Church.

At the age of fourteen Frank Carpenter graduated with the class of 1885 from the Saratoga Springs high school. The next year he taught a one-room rural school and in order to convince the pupils that he could manage them he had to fight and lick the biggest boy in the room. He found one term of school teaching enough. His life at home was unhappy; he did not get on well with his stepmother. In a neighboring town he found employment in a paper mill and lived in a boarding house with other mill hands. As soon as he had saved money enough for his railroad fare he went to Iowa, where he worked on a farm. One night, when the owner of the farm fell desperately ill, his wife asked the boy to go for the doctor. Carpenter took the best horse in the barn, which he had been forbidden to ride, and brought the doctor speedily — but the farmer had already died. Because the boy had disobeyed orders and ridden the best horse the widow would

not speak to him, and she paid the wages that were due him only under pressure from a lawyer.

After this experience of farm life in Iowa, Carpenter tried homesteading in Nebraska, gave that up, and at the age of eighteen enlisted in the army. Two years later he was transferred to the hospital corps. Serving as a steward in an army hospital, he temporarily entertained the idea of becoming a physician, and to that end he procured an amputated leg, which he dissected in his spare moments and kept buried at other times in the snow outside the barracks. On the expiration of his enlistment he became a civilian clerk in army headquarters at Omaha, and later a headquarters field clerk with troops during the war with Spain. When General Henry W. Lawton arrived in the Philippines on March 10, 1899, he had Carpenter — a thick-set, swarthy, black haired young man — with him as his secretary. Later, in dispatches Lawton mentioned favorably his conduct under fire.

When Lawton was killed in action in December, 1899, Carpenter became secretary to the military governor. After the civil government was organized, he was assigned to the Executive Bureau, the Governor General's agency for supervising native officials. He showed such aptitude for the work that when a vacancy occurred he was appointed Executive Secretary, the top position in the Bureau.

He was fluent in Spanish and several native dialects, and through his ability to talk to almost any Filipino or tribesman without the aid of an interpreter he acquired great prestige with the natives. Furthermore, with his dark complexion, straight black hair, and brown eyes, he seemed more like one of them than did most of the Americans with whom they had to deal. His warmly sympathetic manner attracted them; he took an intense interest in all who brought him their troubles or grievances. In fact, he exercised an almost hypnotic in-



fluence on many of the simple people whom he summoned to his office or who came to consult him. He would lean forward across his desk and talk to them in a confidential manner, while his dark eyes glowed with a friendly and compelling warmth.

As there were at one time nine hundred municipalities and more than forty provinces which, under the Governor, the Executive Secretary supervised, a variety of problems constantly confronted him. Under Spanish rule the local officials had been lax and venal, usually underpaid, and accustomed to eke out their incomes by illegal and improper means. Carpenter spent much time hearing the complaints of aggrieved citizens and explaining to the offending officials the error of their ways. He pointed out the necessity for honest and tactful administration and unconsciously revealed in his talks the model of what a public servant should be. Some abuses of office were too grave to be condoned or corrected by reprimand; those he did not hesitate to punish by suspension, removal, or prosecution in the courts. In ten years he dealt with more than 2300 cases. Very soon, under his teaching, the officials in the municipalities and provinces learned to clean house. The last thing they wanted was to be summoned to Manila by Carpenter to explain matters that would not bear explaining.

His function was that of a tutor in government to Filipino officeholders. In this capacity he made warm friends of such distinguished men as Sergio Osmeña, later governor of Cebu and then for fifteen years speaker of the lower house of the Philippine legislature; and Manuel Quezon, who subsequently served as governor of Tayabas, president of the Philippine Senate, and finally president of the Philippine Commonwealth. Meanwhile, Carpenter himself was constantly learning about government through his opportunities to reorganize and shape

it. He was one of the four members of the committee that Governor General Wright appointed in 1905 to reorganize the departments and bureaus and reduce government expenses. During the seven months of this service he brought to the work of the committee a mind keenly practical and fertile in suggestion.

An illustration of his ingenuity was the loan system that he devised for the construction of sanitary markets in the various municipalities. Under the law the municipalities were entitled to a certain proportion of the internal revenue. Carpenter's plan provided that loans for the construction of revenue-producing markets should be made to each municipality according to the share of the internal revenue that it received, and that by the terms of interest payments and amortization they should be automatically liquidated in five or at most ten years. When the new sanitary markets were built, however, it was difficult to induce provision merchants to rent space in them and give up the dirty shops that they owned. Carpenter was able to persuade a sufficient number that they would profit by the move: they would be able to sell a larger amount of perishable food, as most of what they had in their former shops spoiled on their hands. The increase in sales would more than pay the rent, and they would be able, from their stalls in the market, to observe their competitors closely. The merchants saw the value of his advice. When they moved into the markets, their business prospered, the spoilage of provisions decreased, the general health of the community improved. Everybody was pleased — and no one more so than Carpenter.

Governor General Forbes wrote of him in his book *The Philippine Islands*:

He so won the hearts of all Filipinos with whom he came in contact that he became an invaluable interpreter of private senti-

ments and of the trend of public opinion among the Filipinos. Into his willing and confiding ear were poured the grievances, personal bitternesses, hopes, fears, and confidences of the hosts of provincial officials who were constantly visiting Manila. They were often too much in awe of the Governor-General and the Commissioners to speak freely to them, but when they had something deep in their hearts that they wanted to pour out, Frank Carpenter became the spokesman and champion.

It was not only to Filipinos that he gave sympathy and helpful counsel. American officials brought him their troubles, which usually concerned the impossibility of getting necessary work done with the funds available. Congress provided virtually no funds for the reconstruction and development of the Philippines. The money had to come from taxation, and the revenues were necessarily small. Carpenter listened and sympathized, sometimes was able to make a practical suggestion, seldom failed to send his discouraged compatriot away feeling that it was not yet time for him to resign his job and leave the Islands. The Executive Secretary's zeal for his work and his feeling for the people whom it concerned were almost electrically communicable.

One quaint aspect of his service as Executive Secretary was his obsequious attendance upon the telephone. No matter how important a person the visitor in his office might be or how weighty the topic of conversation, at the ringing of the telephone the glow of warm and friendly interest in Carpenter's eyes would change to an eager gleam, and with a murmured, "Just a moment, please," he would reach for the receiver. He never found a way of cutting short the telephone talk that ensued, however trivial it might be. Hoping to cure him of this amiable weakness, one Governor General who was his very good friend and who would occasionally drop in at his office, which was near his own, to discuss matters of importance, would go back to his room as soon as the Executive

Secretary picked up the receiver, and later press the button summoning him to complete the interview. Then Carpenter would have to take his turn in getting in to the Governor's desk — where there was no telephone. The Governor thought that by this method he would soon free Carpenter from his subservience to a machine. But he never did.

So able an administrator did he prove to be that in 1913 the new Governor General, Burton Harrison, though he turned out most of the officials of the preceding regime, appointed Carpenter governor of the Moro Province. Soon after his appointment the Moro Province was reorganized as the Territorial Department of Mindanao and Sulu, including the adjacent province of Agusan and the subprovince of Bukidnon. The area of the department was about one-third the total area of the Islands: it comprised the Sulu Archipelago and all of Mindanao except two provinces on the northern coast inhabited by about 400,000 Christian Filipinos.

Dean Worcester, who had been displaced by the Harrison administration, had misgivings as to Carpenter's fitness for the task imposed on him. In 1914 Worcester wrote:

The work of the Moro Province, as previously organized, taxed the energies and abilities even of General Leonard Wood, who at one time served very efficiently as its governor. It will hardly be claimed that the present governor, Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, is General Wood's superior in administrative ability, yet the duties and responsibilities of this office have been heavily increased. Mr. Carpenter did not seek the appointment, which is commonly believed to have resulted from political intrigue on the part of persons who wished to get him away from Manila. He speaks Spanish well, understands the Filipinos perfectly, and has had very extensive experience and much success in dealing with them, but has never previously come in contact with people of the non-Christian tribes who make up the bulk of the population of this new department. During his brief incumbency in office he has conclusively demonstrated his ability to win their confidence and regard. Were he to devote himself with singleness of purpose to a determined



effort for their betterment there is every reason to believe that he might meet with great success; but unfortunately it seems painfully evident that he is vacillating between his obvious duty and the pull of the administration's policy of placating at any cost the Filipino politicians who wish to get their clutch on Mindanao.

Worcester's gloomy forebodings were not justified, although other reasons than those that he gave for expecting Carpenter to fail in his task might have been cited. For the first time since the American occupation the governor of the hitherto intractable people of the department of Mindanao and Sulu was without the assistance of the Army. Carpenter's predecessor, Governor Pershing, had so completely disarmed the warlike Moros that it was thought no longer necessary to maintain any garrisons of American troops. For the enforcement of his authority the new governor had to depend on a few companies of Scouts and Constabulary, officered partly by Filipinos. Since the relations between Filipinos and Moros had always been hostile, the situation seemed one that would invite trouble. That no serious trouble arose was due to Carpenter's tact and understanding. He knew the Filipinos so well that with unerring judgment he chose officers qualified for the nice performance of a delicate task. And he charmed the Moros as he had charmed the Filipinos.

It must be said, too, that after thirteen years of stubborn resistance to western civilization as represented by American government, a willingness to accept it had begun to manifest itself among some elements of the population. Carpenter's skill in nourishing and widening those areas of acceptance was uncanny. Without provoking uprisings he installed Filipino officials in municipalities where he found no Moro sufficiently trained or capable to fill the position. That he should have been able to persuade Filipinos to enter the lion's den is as remarkable as his taming of the lion. He so successfully main-



tained order with native constabulary paid by the Philippine treasury that in 1918 six battalions of Scouts were moved to Manila to relieve American troops there and enable them to return to the United States. During the First World War he released American officers of constabulary and engineers of public works for service in Europe and filled their places with natives.

Through his personal relations with Mohammedan leaders throughout Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, he suppressed the propaganda for a Holy War and had the agitators deported. His most notable diplomatic achievement was in prevailing on the Sultan of Sulu to relinquish his pretensions to sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago and content himself with being merely the titular head of the Mohammedan church in those islands. The document by which the Sultan yielded all his temporal power not only acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States but also outlawed slavery and polygamy which had existed for centuries. It was signed by the Sultan and by Carpenter on March 22, 1915 — the only treaty ever negotiated by a representative of the government who was not an officer of the State Department or a commissioned officer of the Army or Navy. Major General Frank McCoy, who served for a number of years in the Philippines and knew the people and the conditions well, said recently that what Carpenter accomplished in the Moro Province was almost unbelievable and that no other man could have done it.

After nine years as governor of the department Carpenter retired because of ill health. He had been twenty-three years in the Philippine service. As a token of gratitude the Philippine legislature voted him 50,000 pesos — \$25,000. No other American official ever received a similar tribute of appreciation. Carpenter had already bought an extensive tract of land at Novaliches near Manila where he intended to grow mangoes

and raise cattle. He put the money voted him by the legislature into developing this property. It was his plan to establish a number of tenant farmers on his land and as they prospered sell them their farms at a reasonable profit. But his scheme was too grandiose for his resources. It collapsed, and Carpenter, impoverished and broken in health, left the Islands. He spent two years in Japan, a year in South America, and then returned to the United States. In 1937, fifteen years after ill health had compelled his retirement and when it was still incapacitating him for work, when he was over sixty-six years of age and an inmate of the United States Soldiers' Home, Congress granted him an annuity of \$1800, the pension of a second lieutenant — a niggardly as well as a belated award for wise and devoted service that had saved the United States government many millions of dollars.

Carpenter's career in the Philippines was marked by continuous, unflagging industry and complete selflessness. He seldom took any exercise. There was not much that was picturesque or dramatic in his life; he sat at his desk and talked and wrote; he went on no daring expeditions among wild tribes, his term as governor of what had been a turbulent and bloody land was devoid of excitement, even quietly humdrum in character. Yet everyone who worked with him got some sort of inspiration from his personality.

Carpenter had in fact exceptional ability — not only warmth and generosity of feeling but also an extraordinary eagerness and capacity to master everything connected with his work and anything that might make him more useful to the people whom he served.



WARWICK GREENE

## WARWICK GREENE

Born December 18, 1879

Enlisted in New York Naval Reserve, 1898

A.B. from Harvard College, 1901

LL.B. from Harvard Law School, 1905

Director of Bureau of Public Works, Philippine Islands,  
1910-1915

Director of War Relief Commission of Rockefeller  
Foundation, 1916

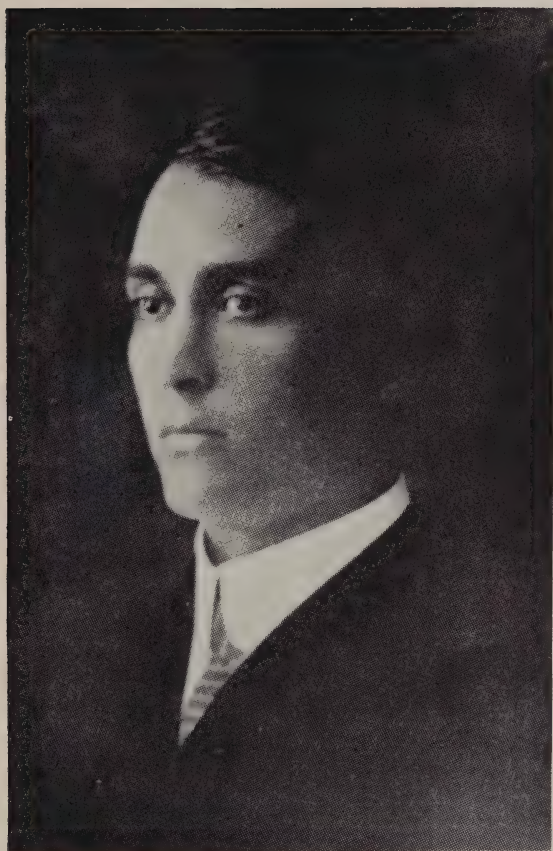
Member of American Red Cross Commission in France  
and Belgium, 1917

Major, Aviation Section, Signal Corps, 1917

Attached to American Commission to Negotiate Peace,  
1919

Died November 18, 1929







## 8

# Warwick Greene

THE GREENES OF RHODE ISLAND were a family of military renown. Major General Nathanael Greene was Washington's most able and trusted commander; Brigadier General George Sears Greene was a distinguished soldier in the Civil War; his son, Major General Francis Vinton Greene, was the first general officer to enter Manila in 1898. Warwick Greene, his son, served in the Philippines a few years later, but not with troops. His background was that of a New York boy brought up by well-to-do, cultivated parents, who sent him to a good preparatory school, then to Harvard College and Harvard Law School. He was under no early urgency to earn his living. At the time of the Spanish War, since he loved the sea and was an expert sailor, he enlisted in the Navy. After a tour of duty off the coast of Cuba in a converted yacht, and after having been promoted from landsman to able seaman, he returned to Harvard College and resumed his studies with the sophomore class.

He was one of the first undergraduates at Harvard to own and drive an automobile. Admiring or scoffing groups of students would stand by while, wearing linen duster, goggles, and black leather gauntlets, he mounted to the lofty seat of his Stanley Steamer. He had fitted it with two boilers, and on a clear road drove it at what was for that period the truly terri-

fyng speed of fifty miles an hour. But he was a careful driver, never had an accident, and because of his mechanical skill and inventiveness was never at a loss in dealing with the engine and tire troubles that then constantly beset the adventurous motorist.

He was a tall, strongly built, handsome young man, dark-haired, with large, full brown eyes that had the measuring glance of the engineer and could be disconcerting when they rested on one who had delivered an injudicious utterance. He was himself too well poised to be betrayed into such utterances, however deeply his feelings might be stirred. His power of self-control made him effective in dealing with men, and especially with emotional and excitable Filipinos.

He had not long been graduated from the Harvard Law School when he was offered the opportunity to go to Manila and serve as a law clerk in the Department of Commerce and Police. He accepted, and arrived in the Philippines at about the same time as a consignment of automobiles for use by the Department. They were needed for service on the Benguet Road, the road to Baguio, which had recently been opened to traffic; mule teams and stages were inadequate for the demands of transportation. Greene's interest in transportation and mechanical problems manifested itself at once. His chief soon found that the law clerk had more important matters on his mind than the not very significant legal questions that were submitted to him. When Greene produced a sensationally successful solution of a construction problem that had baffled the engineers who had been consulted on it, he was released at once from the law clerk's comparatively dull routine and given work that was a challenge to his interest and ability.

The circumstances leading to his new assignment were as follows. Having had a touch of fever he was advised by his

chief to recuperate at Baguio, where he might look into the difficulties that were delaying the building of the chief's new house there. Greene found that construction was indeed at a standstill. The house, which was on a hilltop, was being built of stone from a somewhat higher hill on the opposite side of a ravine. When the carts carrying the stone blocks reached the bottom of the hill they bogged down in greasy mud. There seemed to be no way of getting the stones up to the building site before the next dry season. And as the Commissioner's family were to arrive for Christmas, he wanted the house to be finished and ready to receive them by that time. Neither engineers nor builders could see how to expedite the work.

To Greene's quick eye and imaginative mind the situation presented no great difficulty. He sent to Manila for a steel cable long enough to stretch from the quarry to the building site, rigged up a pulley and block and tackle, and soon was sending two-hundred-pound blocks of stone by gravity across the ravine to the spot where they were needed. He remained on the construction job to see that the work was pushed rapidly to a conclusion. Under his supervision there was no dallying by foreman or workmen. The Commissioner held his family party on Christmas at Topside, the first private house built by an American official at Baguio.

The Director of Public Works, James F. Case, a master engineer who had built the Manila water works, was so much impressed by Greene's ingenuity and driving power that he asked to have him transferred to his department as his assistant. The young amateur then had an opportunity to improve traffic conditions on the Baguio road. From the railroad terminus to Baguio the road, twenty-four miles long, was steep and winding. Greene installed a system of block signals permitting traffic to move in only one direction and cars to pass



each other only at certain points. Thus he made travel safe on a road which without such controls had been highly dangerous.

In 1910 Case resigned his position and returned to the United States. By that time Greene had shown so much organizing ability and resourcefulness and such a firm grasp on all matters pertaining to the department that although he had never taken a course in engineering he was appointed Director of Public Works with about a hundred and fifty engineers under him. Buildings, hospitals, public markets, artesian wells and other water supply systems, especially irrigation projects, came under his control.

His principal task, however, like that of his predecessor, was to build roads and keep them in good repair. The Spaniards had never created an adequate system of roads in the Islands. They had forced each able-bodied man to work out his cedula (or poll tax) by giving a few days a year to road building. Because of its compulsory feature, the Filipinos disliked road building and slighted it as much as possible. There were too few roads, and those in existence had been badly neglected. The economic life of the Islands was languishing in consequence. The people could not get their crops to markets, nor could they get supplies from the outside world.

Greene first undertook to make serviceable the old roads. Often he found it necessary to re-establish the right of way. He found that gutters and ditches for drainage had been filled with refuse, and even that trees had been so planted and fences and yards of houses so placed that they narrowed the right of way. Many natives looked on gloomily while their encroachments on public property were wiped out without ceremony. Having restored the roadways, Greene set a force of computers to determine the number of wheels that in a given time passed over a road. When the figures were all in he cal-

culated how much surfacing each section of road needed to carry the traffic. The apportionment of metal or macadam to a road was according to the amount of traffic over it. Roads beginning at a capital city or port and branching out into the country received first attention, then the secondary roads according to their importance.

Although Greene's road-building and road-improving projects were at first decidedly unappreciated, he had ingenious methods of arousing friendly interest in them. He would take groups of Filipino officials in his automobile over roads recently finished or under construction. Most of the officials had never before ridden in a motorcar. He would speed his car over the smoothly paved road of one province and continue at the same speed over the rough and rocky road of the next province, causing his astonished passengers to grip hard and grunt. Not long after such an experience, officials animated by local pride would demand for their province or town as good roads as those enjoyed by their neighbors. Thus, indifference to facilitating travel and transportation was succeeded by a sharply competitive eagerness to promote them. Greene's gangs of road-builders, instead of being viewed with suspicion or resentment, were welcomed everywhere.

His department was so efficient and his work in knitting together the municipalities and provinces so beneficial in its results that in 1913 Governor General Harrison on coming into office, though he wielded his partisan axe with lusty enjoyment, thought it undesirable to dispense with Greene's services. Greene felt it his duty to continue as head of the department even though his relations with his chief were no longer congenial. During the next two years he not only enlarged the scope of his road-building activities but also continued the building of schoolhouses and bridges and the construction of irrigation systems, sewerage systems, and

power plants. He operated the automobile lines, of which there were then a number. He employed about 1,500 men, of whom more than a thousand were Filipinos. His contribution to progress was one of the brighter features of the Harrison administration.

In 1915 personal reasons compelled him to resign and return to the United States. The leading Filipinos, among them Manuel Quezon, expressed their deep regret at his leaving and their hope that he would come back and bring about a still greater expansion of public works. He had been nine years in the Philippine service, and he was tired.

World events did not allow him any long period of rest. Within a few months after his arrival in New York he was appointed Director of the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation. For almost five years thereafter he was continuously in Europe engaged in a variety of services — first in war-relief and Red Cross work, then as Lieutenant Colonel in the American Army until the Armistice of World War I. After the war he was attached to the commission to negotiate peace and charged with a mission to the Baltic States. His published letters describing some of his observations and experiences during those years are among the most vivid eyewitness accounts of the ravages of war and show a grimly prophetic vision. It is to be regretted that none of his letters from the Philippines, which must have been equally vivid and revealing, have been printed.

He was depressed by the Peace Conference and its outcome. At Versailles, after the signing of the Peace Treaty, he saw the three leaders, Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George, depart from the Palace. His description of the event is sardonic: "Democracy hustled its dolls down the stairway and, amid a great jostle of civilians and soldiers, tossed them into a common limousine, together with a huge bouquet, and shot them

off with cheers and good will — Admiral Grayson clinging to the outside of the limousine which carried the world's Trinity."

A year later, traveling through the wretched, newly created, independent Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia, which were either the prey of the Bolsheviks or fighting to keep free from them, he wrote: "Suppose in 1898 we had chucked Spain out of Cuba and the Philippines and then dropped the matter, as if what followed in the islands was none of our concern. Well, that is what happened, on a million times larger scale, in Eastern Europe." He was caustic in his comments on Wilson's policy of self-determination of nations, without any force to support them in their self-determination.

Whatever one may think of his assignment of individual responsibility, the accuracy of his forecast, written in Helsingfors, Finland, in February, 1920, cannot be disputed:

The wreck, begun by the war, is fast being completed — and in very generous measure — by the old men at Paris. The Tiger [Clemenceau] gets back to his lair not only with the scalps of both Wilson and Lloyd George, but also with the bones of enough babies to build a pyramid over his grave out-topping that of Cheops. . . . The France of a later generation will expiate these present policies that are framed in blood and starvation. Clemenceau has sown the wind; young France will reap the red or black — Bolshevik or Reactionary — whirlwind out of the vast stretch of territories and peoples he and his generation have wronged. Perhaps it will be both red and black. The old man himself will be gathered to his fathers, full of years and honors. He saved France from one great peril, only to commit her to another. . . . There was only one Peace possible — a Peace of good will and reconciliation. France spurned that; she faces a future in which both German and Slav are staggering to their feet, hand in hand against her.

The passages quoted are hardly enough to show what may have been Greene's greatest talent — his talent for expression.



His life was given so completely and earnestly to works of organization and action, first in the Philippines, then in Europe, finally in America, where he headed large business enterprises, that only in his letters and a few miscellaneous papers did he encourage the literary impulse which was strong in him. His vitality and force had to be directed into the channels in which he could be most useful. He did not live long enough or have leisure enough to preserve in literary form the fruits of his experience. He died before he was fifty years of age.

A man of brilliant mind and blazing energy, with a wonderful ability to get at the root of the matter in whatever he undertook and a steadfastness of character that held him firmly to every task, Warwick Greene was a powerful exponent of what Theodore Roosevelt called the strenuous life. In tropical islands, in war-torn France, in the bleak and miserable Baltic states, in grim Bolshevist Russia, in the jungles of Venezuela (which as the head of an oil company he explored after the war), he crowded adventure upon adventure, not as one seeking for excitement but as one facing it with equanimity in the line of duty.



JOHN SYLVANUS LEECH

JOHN SYLVANUS LEECH

Born July 2, 1868

Appointed Director of Printing, Manila, May 29, 1901

Appointed Public Printer, Washington, D. C., April 4,  
1908

Appointed Head, Special Watchmen Department, J. P.

Morgan & Company, New York, February 19, 1917

Retired from J. P. Morgan & Company, December 31,  
1931

Died January 29, 1948





## 9

# John Sylvanus Leech

A DAPPER AND DEBONAIR YOUNG MAN when he arrived in the Philippines, John Leech presented an appearance of sophistication and elegance hardly to be expected of one who had been brought up as a country boy and who had earned his living from an early age. He had worked on the farms of relatives round Bloomington, Illinois, where his family had their home; he had sold newspapers on the Bloomington streets, and on a train route between Bloomington and Sandusky, Ohio. His only formal education was that gained in elementary school and one year of high school. He was ambitious; through independent reading and study he succeeded in passing the entrance examinations for the Military Academy at West Point. It was a great blow when he learned that because of inability to meet the physical requirements — he was of a slight and delicate figure — he was excluded from the institution that he longed to enter. Nevertheless, in his spare time he continued to study. The young man who, after a hard day's work, spent an evening reading Emerson and Santayana was of no ordinary caliber. And he was shaping his character as well as enlarging his mind.

He learned the printer's trade in a shop in Bloomington, got a job in the Government Printing Office in Washington, and worked his way up. Alert and friendly, interested in all



the operations, processes, and machines of the huge sprawling plant, he soon became an important figure in its management. As the institution sheltered a number of friends of influential congressmen, senators, and high-ranking officials, there were wasteful aspects of the government printing business which did not escape Leech's keen eye. But, being a discreet young man and lacking authority to initiate reforms, he did not air his unfavorable opinions. He had such a thorough grasp of the printing business and so much administrative ability that when in 1901 Governor Taft called for someone to organize a Bureau of Printing in the Philippines, Leech was recommended by Frank W. Palmer, Public Printer of the United States. In May, 1901, Secretary Root appointed him Director of the new bureau.

The initial difficulties of Leech's task were very great. The printing establishments under Spanish rule had fallen far short of modern requirements. There were no typesetting machines, no automatic presses, no equipment for electrotyping, stereotyping, engraving, lithographing. Bookbinding was of the crudest. Facilities for quantity production of printed matter did not exist.

Not only did Leech have nothing to start with, but he had little information by which to estimate what the scope of his work might be. The whole Philippine enterprise was a brand new thing for America. It was left to him to figure out how much of a plant he would need. For two months and a half he toiled over specifications. Then he presented them to Colonel Clarence Edwards, the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, who invited competitive bids. After the accepted bids were approved by the Public Printer and the contracts signed, Leech proceeded to Manila. While he awaited the shipments of machinery and supplies he familiarized himself with the scene of his future operations. The American colony took to

him at once. Attractive in manner and appearance, he inspired confidence.

Most of the American civilians had been members of volunteer regiments. After being discharged from the Army they had decided to make a career for themselves in the Islands. Some of them went into commercial pursuits, some were teachers, some became civil officials. It was natural that they should distrust the Filipinos with whom they had been fighting so recently. Many American heads of business houses, handicapped by their ignorance of Spanish, employed only Americans. For all these reasons there was a very definite spirit of resistance by American chiefs of bureaus and superintendents of divisions to the policy of the Filipinization of the services, as it was called, on which the administration had decided.

Leech recognized the correctness of the Filipinization policy and became one of its most ardent supporters. From the outset he let it be known that the Bureau of Printing would give an opportunity to young Filipinos wishing to learn the trade. To be sure, his bureau was not one in which loyalty to the American government was likely to be tested or in which a malcontent could render assistance to the remnants of the insurrectionary forces; nevertheless, in taking such a firm stand against the anti-Filipino prejudice that was strong in many other bureaus Leech showed courage. He put himself in the van of those who were trying to open up ways to education and improvement for the young Filipinos. He conducted his bureau in such a manner that in it he combined a printing business and a school of printing. Indeed it was more than a school of printing. By the terms of the Philippine Commission's act creating the bureau, the Director was "to instruct Filipinos in all the specialties of printing and its allied trades." Since electricians and machinists were needed to operate the bureau's power plant and keep the machinery in good running

order, Leech interpreted the term "allied trades" as embracing those of the electrician and machinist as well as the more obviously related crafts, such as electrotyping, stereotyping, photoengraving, lithographing, and bookbinding, for all of which many Filipinos had a special aptitude. Manual deftness and dexterity and an artistic sense are Filipino attributes.

It would have been easy for Leech to train a young Filipino to a single branch of work and hold him there. His bureau would have run perhaps even more smoothly with each apprentice and craftsman performing a routine task in a well-worn groove. With such a system, which was the one commonly employed in commercial establishments, he himself would certainly have had more time to relax. But he was too broad-minded and too ambitious in behalf of the Filipinos to take that easy course. As a Filipino apprentice learned one branch of the work and became proficient, Leech moved him on to another branch. He trained his pupils not only in all that had to do with the printing, illustrating, and manufacture of newspapers, magazines and books, but also in office management and systematic reading. It was not only a technical school that he conducted but also in some measure a school of business administration. Many of its graduates went back to the provinces from which they had come and became independent and successful printers.

There was no politics in the Bureau of Printing while Leech was the director. Having seen the effect of politics in the Government Printing Office in Washington, he was determined to keep that baleful influence from getting a foothold in his organization. His American assistants — printing experts to whom he stressed the importance of giving the Filipinos a good technical education — he picked without regard to party connections. His Filipino apprentices he chose solely on the basis of merit, their attainments as shown by their school rec-

ords, irrespective of any tendencies they might have to use their craftsmanship eventually in propaganda against the Americans and in agitating for independence. Through his fairness and friendliness as well as the excellence of his teaching he gained their respect. His thoughtfulness on their behalf won for him a warmer feeling. He provided facilities for athletic sports that kept them in good health and spirits, and he encouraged habits of thrift by setting up bonus and savings plans.

So noteworthy was his success that after a few years when the office of Public Printer of the United States became vacant Leech was appointed to it. His friends in the Philippines offered him their congratulations and saw him go with dismay. He was not gone for very long. He had made up his mind that in the Government Printing Office he would not tolerate the laxity and wastefulness that had prevailed, and on taking over the administration of it he began at once to clean out the idlers and abolish the soft jobs. Influential personages on Capitol Hill were violently incensed; Leech would not give way under their angry attacks. They complained to the President, to whom the Public Printer, being under no department of the government, was directly responsible. The President sent Leech a stiff letter, expressing his disapproval of actions that he could not help regarding as hasty and ill-advised. Leech replied in equally stiff terms that his only concern was to administer the Printing Office efficiently and economically, and that as long as he was Public Printer he would be influenced by no other considerations. Without delay his resignation was demanded. Taft, who was then Secretary of War and who knew well the value of Leech's work in the Philippines, did what he could to smooth the ruffled feathers and succeeded in obtaining permission to reappoint him to his former position, which had not yet been filled. Possibly he suggested



that it might be better if the young man were fifteen thousand miles away than stirring round in Washington. So Leech returned to Manila, and if it cannot be said that he came back a conquering hero he received a joyful welcome from his old friends, pupils, and associates.

The Bureau of Printing grew and prospered. Its product compared favorably with the best work of the same kind turned out elsewhere. Leech was a good businessman and each year put aside from the bureau's earnings a substantial sum for a building fund. He envisaged a fine new building that should be a more suitable home for his bureau than the shabby old quarters that it then occupied. Although the cost of production at his plant was at least 10 per cent lower than the cost at which the same work could have been turned out by a commercial printing house, he was still able to save something for the new building. Then fell an unexpected blow. On December 28, 1912, in a speech at Staunton, Virginia, President-elect Wilson said, "The Philippines are at present our frontier, but I hope we presently are to deprive ourselves of that frontier."

The effect which that abrupt notice of impending American withdrawal produced on the economy of the Islands was devastating. The customs revenues fell off alarmingly. All government expenditures were cut. Orders for public works were canceled. All bureaus were requested to return to the government the largest possible amount of unexpended appropriations. The savings of the Bureau of Printing which had been so carefully husbanded were handed back to the Treasurer, to help save the Government from an impending deficit.

Leech was not one of those immediately separated from their jobs by the incoming administration. He did not, however, tarry long. Waiting one day in the anteroom of the new Governor General's office, he became engaged in an



acrimonious discussion with another hold-over who in the fashion of the time-server was extolling the virtues of the new administration and decrying those of the old. Leech's voice rose in impassioned defense of the men with whom he had served. The next day his resignation was requested.

The work that he did in the Philippines lived after him. In 1926 both the Director and the Assistant Director of the Bureau of Printing were Filipinos who had been his apprentices and had graduated as craftsmen under his training.

Of all the American bureau chiefs who went to the Philippines to aid in the new government, none had a finer record for devotion to principle and effective achievement than John Leech. He was a leader in carrying out the altruistic American policy and in convincing the Filipinos that their well-being and advancement were our only concern in the Islands.

Leech sought no further connection with the government. On his return to the United States he obtained a position with J. P. Morgan & Company, prospered, and enjoyed life. He prized his membership in the Philippine Club, which he helped to organize and of which he soon became treasurer, a position he held as long as he lived. It was composed of Americans who had served the Philippine Government in a military, official, business or professional capacity, and who were sympathetic with the altruistic policies initiated by Governor Taft. Those policies were developed consistently throughout the American occupation except during the unhappy period, 1913-1921, when Governor General Harrison was in office.

John Leech was a warm-hearted, loyal friend, an unselfish worker to improve the lot of a people with whom for some years his lot was cast, and a man of absolute integrity.



JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING

## JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING

Born September 13, 1860

Graduated from U. S. Military Academy, 1886

Apache Indian Campaign, 1886

Sioux Campaign, 1890-1891

Military Instructor, University of Nebraska, 1891-1895;  
received LL.B., 1895

Santiago Campaign, Cuba, 1898

Organizer and Chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1899

Adjutant General, Department of Mindanao in Philip-  
pines, 1899-1901

Commander of Military Operations against the Moros,  
1902-1903

Military attaché, Japan, 1905-1906

Brigadier General, 1906

Commander of Department of Mindanao and Military  
Governor of Moro Province, 1909-1913

Commander of U. S. Troops in pursuit of Villa, 1916

Major General, 1916

General of U. S. Army, 1917

General of Armies of United States, 1919

Commander in Chief of A.E.F., First World War, 1917-  
1918

Chief of Staff, U. S. Army, 1921

Died July 15, 1948







## IO

# John Joseph Pershing

A SON OF THE MIDDLE WEST, John Joseph Pershing represented in person and character all that is best in that breed. Stalwart of body, strong of limb, resolute of purpose, and of immense driving power, he, if any man, was destined from his early days for success. Yet he was no darling of the gods, either early in life or later when he was on the threshold of his greatest triumph.

He was born near Laclede, Missouri, in 1860, one of the nine children of John F. Pershing, who had given up his job as a railroad construction foreman and bought a farm. As a boy he toiled earnestly and industriously with his father on the land. When he was fifteen, he took over the farm work entirely, as the elder Pershing decided to start a merchandising business. The family resources could not support both enterprises. The mortgage on the farm was foreclosed, but eventually the merchandising business prospered. Meanwhile the boy, ambitious to study law, earned money by teaching in an elementary school, and, in order to become a better teacher and so earn more money, attended classes in a normal school. One day he read in the Laclede newspaper the notice of a competitive examination for entrance to the Military Academy at West Point. There, perhaps, was a chance for him to get a thorough education, even though it did not point towards the

law. Of the seventeen candidates who took the examination he received the highest marks and won the appointment. Twenty-one years of age when he entered the Academy, he was older than most of his classmates. Although he did well in mathematics and logic, he was not a high-ranking scholar; strangely enough, in view of his later accomplishments, he found languages difficult. He was a handsome, broad-shouldered, deep-chested young man, with the capacity for leadership stamped strongly on his rugged features. So compelling was this capacity that he graduated as senior cadet captain — the highest cadet military honor.

In 1886 he served with the Sixth Cavalry in the Arizona campaign against the Apaches. Next he fought the Sioux in South Dakota. For his excellent leadership the young lieutenant won official commendation, though it did not extend to measures which he sometimes adopted under severe stress and which perhaps enhanced his men's respect for him. It is said that on one occasion he enforced discipline with his fists. The appellation "Black Jack" was conferred on him — an admiring tribute by his soldiers to a mighty slugger. Democratic and direct methods were always natural to him. In 1915, a brigadier general on the Mexican border, he did not disdain to join the mess line and get his plate of beans and cup of coffee with private soldiers. Yet when the occasion was a ceremonious one, he was a stickler for ceremony. Prompt and exact as Pershing was in all military matters, he had a curious lack of the sense of the passage of time in preparing for social functions, at which he was invariably and sometimes annoyingly late. In matters of dress he was meticulous to such a point that his critics regarded him as fussy.

From 1891 to 1895 Pershing was military instructor at the University of Nebraska, where, while carrying on his work as a teacher, he fulfilled his early ambition and studied law.

But although he took the LL.B. degree and was admitted to the Nebraska bar, he had no desire now to become a practicing attorney. He felt that with the legal knowledge he had acquired he was better equipped than before to be an effective soldier.

In 1898 he took part in the Santiago campaign. The colonel under whom he served wrote after the fight at El Caney: "I have been in many fights, through the Civil War, but Captain Pershing is the coolest man under fire I ever saw in my life."

From Cuba he was moved to the office of the Assistant Secretary of War in Washington where, aided by his legal training, he organized speedily and efficiently the Bureau of Insular Affairs to govern the Philippines and Puerto Rico. He might have remained as its head, with rapid promotion assured, except that he had no taste for a swivel-chair job. He requested to be sent to the Philippines; and in the operations in 1901 against the warlike Moros he distinguished himself by his courage and intelligence. The fighting was savage; the Moros were animated by the belief that to die in the act of killing a Christian ensured eternal bliss, the number of hours attending the happy warrior in Paradise being determined by the number of Christians that he had slain. With this bright prospect, neither fear of death nor the pain of wounds ever deterred a Moro fighting man from pressing his attack to the last. Many of them deliberately went *juramentado* — that is, swore an oath to kill a Christian, shaved their eyebrows, got blessed by a priest, donned white garments, and rushed to the slaughter, making a special effort to cut down officers of rank. Against such a desperate foe it was necessary to send the best qualified leader; Pershing was the man. He soon found himself commanding a force much larger than his rank of captain normally warranted. His successes against the Moros were so pronounced, he overwhelmed them so thoroughly in combat

and outwitted them so completely in strategy, that in less than a year he brought them into a state of submission which was largely personal to him. The fact that he had learned their language and could talk to them without an interpreter enhanced his power in their eyes; surrender to such a superior being implied no loss of face.

Having established a reasonable degree of order in the turbulent Moro province, Pershing was next sent by President Theodore Roosevelt as military attaché to Japan. There with his customary industry and concentration he applied himself to the study of Japanese, with the result that in a few months he could understand the language and make himself understood in it. He was forty-five years old and still only a captain. In recognition of the extraordinary services he had rendered, President Roosevelt in 1906 promoted him from captain to brigadier general, over the heads of 862 senior officers. As was to be expected, not a few of those who had been passed over were critical of the appointment. Some went so far as to attribute it to the fact that Mrs. Pershing was the daughter of a high-ranking Senator. President Roosevelt took notice of the innuendo by remarking that while it would be infamous to promote an undeserving man because of the high position of his father-in-law, it would be equally infamous to deny well-earned promotion for that reason. The senior officers who had served with Pershing in the Philippines heartily applauded the promotion that had been given him.

After serving for a year in command of brigade headquarters near Manila, Pershing went to Europe in 1908, to study the threatening situation in the Balkans. The next year he was recalled to the Philippines, this time as Governor of the Moro Province. Although he had scoured it thoroughly four years before, murder, piracy, and pillage were common activities. Under the feudal system that prevailed, chiefs with their fol-



lowers raided their neighbors and carried off slaves as well as cattle. As Governor of the Moro Province, Pershing exercised great patience and tried to avoid using force. In 1911 he started the publication at Zamboanga of the *Sulu News*, a monthly periodical in English and in the native dialect, in which he undertook to explain to the Moros the policies of the provincial government. For the first issue he wrote an article in which he said:

I think that the most wholesome advice which I can give the Moro readers of this periodical is that they devote themselves more earnestly to agriculture. The Moro country still has an abundance of fertile soil which the Moros can plant and own if they wish. In subsequent numbers this paper will explain to the Moros just how they must proceed to obtain a legal title to their farms. . . . The Moros are required to pay very few taxes, usually but one peso [fifty cents] per year for a cedula. The little money which the government collects from the people is mostly given back in the form of public improvements. The government does not desire riches for itself, but it desires the people to be rich. And I am sure that, when the Moros understand this, they will heartily cooperate with the government. Indeed, they can hardly do otherwise, since, when they help themselves in the proper way, they are carrying out the wishes of the government.

Unfortunately the *Sulu News* had to be discontinued after a few months on account of a fire which destroyed the type. As time passed many of the Moros grew weary of the peaceful life. The more important chiefs, the Sultans of Sulu and Maguindanao, continued to feel well disposed towards the government, but some of the petty rulers were bitterly hostile to the young army officers who were sent into their districts to administer the law and who neither understood their language nor respected their customs. Troubled by the continuing disorder, the Governor General told Pershing that there was too much piracy, banditry, and bloodshed in the Moro region. Pershing replied that the only way to stop it was by taking

firearms and other battle weapons away from the Moros. Both he and the Governor General agreed that such action, though it might have been premature before, was now necessary. In view of the resistance to be expected, Pershing warned that the operation would probably cost two thousand lives. The Governor General's answer was that the Moros who fought to the death rather than give up their arms and warlike proclivities could be much better spared than the peaceful citizens whom they were plundering and killing, and that the disarmament should take place at once.

On September 8, 1911, Pershing issued the following comprehensive order:

In pursuance of the authority vested in the Governor of the Moro Province by virtue of Act No. 221 of the Legislative Council . . . it is declared to be unlawful for any person within the Moro Province to acquire, possess, or have the custody of any rifle, musket, carbine, shotgun, revolver, pistol, or other deadly weapon from which a bullet, ball, shot, shell or other missile or missiles may be discharged by means of gunpowder or other explosive, or to carry, concealed or otherwise, on his person any bowie knife, dirk, dagger, kris, campilan, spear, or other deadly cutting or thrusting weapon, except tools used exclusively for working purposes having blades less than fifteen inches in length, without permission of the Governor of the Moro Province as provided in said Act, or unless otherwise authorized by law to possess and carry such weapons.

JOHN J. PERSHING  
*Brigadier General, U.S.A.*  
*Governor for the Moro Province*

Some of the Moros who were willing to co-operate feared that, after they surrendered their only means of defense, Filipino officials would be placed over them and would use their power tyrannically. No promise was made that Filipino officials would not be appointed, but the assurance was given that the American government would protect all law-abiding

Moros against aggression and injustice. Having confidence in Pershing, most of the Moros peaceably gave up their arms to the American authorities. Against those who resisted, Pershing sent forces of Constabulary and Scouts composed chiefly of Moros. How bravely and unfalteringly they did their work is well illustrated by the story of the fight with the outlaws who refused to give up their arms and fortified themselves on Mount Bagsak in the island of Jolo. Pershing himself took command of this operation which began in February, 1913. As at Bud Dajo, seven years before, the outlaws had brought their women and children with them. Reporting to the Governor General on the problem that confronted him, Pershing wrote on February 28 as follows:

The nature of the Joloano Moro is such that he is not at all overawed or impressed by an overwhelming force. If he takes a notion to fight, he will fight regardless of the number of men he thinks are to be brought against him. You cannot bluff him. There are already enough troops on the island of Jolo to smother the defiant element, but the conditions are such that if we attempt such a thing the loss of life among innocent women and children would be very great. It is estimated that there are only about three hundred arms altogether in the Island of Jolo and that these are assembled in Lati Ward on top of Mount Bagsak in fortified cottas. It is a common thing among these people to have the women and children follow them into these cottas, so that we have there probably five or six times as many women and children as armed men. . . . I am not prepared to rush in and attack them while they are surrounded by their women and children, as I think most of the women and children can be induced to return to their homes. . . . You may rest assured that my best efforts are being put forth to carry out the purpose of our undertaking — disarmament with as little disturbance and as little loss of life as possible.

After months of negotiation, virtually all the non-combatants left the stronghold. On the morning of June 13, 1913, the American troops and Scouts attacked. Pershing was within

thirty feet of the last cotta when it was taken. But fighting continued around the fortifications and in the crater of the mountain for five days; Pershing was in it from beginning to end. A few Moros escaped; but thereafter there were not weapons enough left on Jolo in the hands of the natives to threaten the peace of the island.

Of his influence among the Moros, General George C. Marshall has written as follows: "Not content with merely defeating his enemy, Pershing moved about among the rebels, convincing them by example that the Americans held no animosity towards them. He won the hearts of the natives and was made a 'Datto' or native ruler in recognition of this respect and confidence."

Pershing completed his services in the Moro Province on December 15, 1913. He felt that the time had come when the administration of the province should be placed in the hands of a civil governor. His recommendation to that effect was adopted. He had prepared the way for his successor, even though deep-rooted antagonisms remained.

In 1915 Pershing was assigned to service on the Mexican border which had become a trouble zone owing to the frequent raids of the bandit Villa and his followers into American territory. Soon after Pershing had arrived there, and while he was looking for a house in El Paso to which to bring his family, the news reached him that their quarters in the Presidio, San Francisco, had been destroyed by fire and that his wife and three little girls had perished. Only his five-year-old boy survived. This devastating blow Pershing bore with the iron self-control that perhaps only a great soldier can command.

His pursuit of Villa was frustrated by the impossible conditions that President Wilson imposed on him. After he had marched 150 miles into Mexico, under orders to capture Villa



but not to kill Mexicans, he was recalled. Although the command to return was galling in the extreme he obeyed it without a murmur and with no sign of irritation or disappointment. His forbearance from criticism of his chief was the forbearance of a trained soldier.

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared that a state of war with Germany existed. "It took Secretary of War Newton D. Baker only one month to make the decision the entire country expected," General George C. Marshall wrote in his memorial sketch of Pershing. "In May Major General John J. Pershing was designated commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, and thus began the greatest phase of his career."

Besides his military skill and knowledge, Pershing had the great leader's faculty for selecting the right man to speak for him on a great occasion — a man who could frame a message that would capture and thrill a people's imagination. When Colonel Charles E. Stanton (a nephew of Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War) representing the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces said, standing before the tomb of Lafayette on the Fourth of July, 1917, "Lafayette, we are here!" that pledge of payment in full for a never-to-be-forgotten debt rang through France and strengthened every heart.

There was heavy pressure by the Allies to have the American Army broken up into small units to serve under their officers. Determined to keep the Army intact and throw it ultimately into action as a unit under his command, Pershing rejected the proposal. He did, however, send troops in units no smaller than a division to serve in the British and French armies and get their first experience of battle. As fast as these troops were seasoned, he withdrew them and sent in



others to take their place. But in March, 1918, when the Germans threatened to drive a wedge between the British and French Armies, he performed what in General Marshall's words was "the most gracious and forthright act of his career." Laying aside for the moment his oft-repeated stand that the A.E.F. should constitute a separate force, he went to Marshal Foch's headquarters and offered to place at his disposal the entire American contingent, to be used as the Marshal saw fit.

The effect was that of a successful transfusion of blood into the veins of a moribund patient. By July the Allied situation had improved so definitely that Pershing felt the time had come for the American troops to take the offensive. He told Foch that he wished now to form them again into a force under his own command. Foch promptly released them to him. The first major American offensive, to reduce the St. Mihiel salient, ensued. From that successful attack, Pershing went on with his determined leadership and mighty driving power to the Meuse-Argonne offensive which completely broke the German resistance.

In the councils of the Allied commanders Pershing, unlike the others, stood alone. Haig had Lloyd George at his elbow; Joffre and Foch had Clemenceau; Diaz, the Italian commander, had Orlando, the foreign minister. It was probably to Pershing's advantage that he had to make his own decisions. He gained prestige with the others and by the undiluted forcefulness of his personality often compelled reluctant acceptance of his views.

The order that he issued on November 28, 1918, to the units composing the American Army of Occupation reflected his enlightened spirit. In it he said: "You have come, not as despoilers or oppressors, but simply as the instruments of a strong, free government whose purposes towards Germany are

beneficent. During our occupation the civil population is under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American Army."

Pershing was the only general on either side originally chosen to command a great army who was still commander of it at the end of the war. His success was due not only to his own leadership but also to his unerring judgment in choosing his staff officers. They were men whose quality he had personally seen tested in active service. General James G. Harbord, his first Chief of Staff, later led the Marines in the crucial battle of Château-Thierry; he was next in command of the Second Division in the Soissons salient; he was then transferred from the fighting forces to direct the Services of Supply; and he finally retired with the rank of lieutenant general. Harbord had been chief of the Constabulary in the Philippines. Pershing's Provost Marshal, General Harry H. Bandholtz, had preceded General Harbord in that capacity. General Henry T. Allen, who succeeded Pershing in command of the A.E.F., was the general who had first organized the Constabulary. General Dennis Nolan, who had been an Inspector of the Constabulary, was Pershing's Chief of the Intelligence Division. Generals Liggett and Bullard, his Army Chiefs, and General Summerall, commander of the First Division and the First Corps, had all been on active duty in the Philippines, as had many other officers who rendered distinguished service in France. And Bishop Brent, who had confirmed Pershing in the Philippines, was his chief of chaplains. Thus the Philippine Islands had been the training ground which had prepared American commanders for effective service in a field of far wider scope.

Acclaimed abroad and at home after the victory, decorated with the highest honors of his own and foreign governments,

Pershing sought no public or political office. An old man at the outbreak of the Second World War, living in retirement, he was often consulted by those on whom the responsibility for making important military decisions rested.

He died after a long illness at the age of eighty-seven, a great American who had played a masterful part in shaping world history.

**RICHARD PEARSON STRONG**

## **RICHARD PEARSON STRONG**

**Born March 18, 1872**

**Ph.B. from Yale University, 1893**

**M.D. from Johns Hopkins Medical School, 1897**

**First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army,  
1898-1902**

**President of Board to Investigate Tropical Diseases in  
Philippines, 1899-1901**

**Director of Government Biological Laboratory, Manila,  
1901-1913**

**Professor of Tropical Medicine, Harvard University,  
1913-1938**

**American Delegate to International Plague Conference,  
Peking, 1911**

**Medical Director of International and American Red  
Cross Sanitary Commission, Serbia, 1915**

**Major, Red Cross, Headquarters A.E.F., 1917**

**Colonel, Medical Corps of U. S. Army, 1942**

**Director of Tropical Medicine, Army Medical School,  
1942-1945**

**Died July 4, 1948**







## II

# Richard Pearson Strong

ANYONE MEETING RICHARD STRONG for the first time must have been at once impressed by his courtesy and gentleness. One who knew nothing about him might have made the mistake of thinking that he was perhaps a little soft — his manner and his voice had such an ingratiating quality, his brown eyes such a warmly sympathetic light. One would be likely to notice too that his hands were small and delicate. They did not seem the hands of a former tackle on a winning Yale football eleven or of a dashing and effective Number One on a crack polo team. It was easier to believe that they were the hands of a violinist of exceptional skill, as indeed he was — one who had played with such a master as Loeffler. Certainly one with no antecedent knowledge of him would have been unlikely to imagine that he had spent a considerable part of his active life in conditions that were extremely dangerous and often quite repulsive.

The calm acceptance of risks and discomforts in the line of duty was part of Richard Strong's soldierly inheritance. His father, Richard Pearson Strong, had been a colonel in the United States Army. At Fortress Monroe, Virginia, on March 18, 1872, young Richard Strong was born. After graduating from Yale in 1893 he entered the new Johns Hopkins Medical School, and took his M.D. degree in 1897 with the

first graduating class. In 1898 he was commissioned first lieutenant and assistant surgeon in the United States Army. His ability manifested itself so immediately that in 1899 the Secretary of War appointed him president of a board to investigate tropical diseases in the Philippines. In Manila he established the Army Pathological Laboratory. He also directed the Biological Laboratory in the government's Bureau of Science, occupying a separate wing of the building. He had an adequate laboratory and, in spite of the poverty of the Philippine government, the most modern equipment for tropical biology owned by any government in the world, colonial or national. He had, too, an adequate staff of first-class assistants. Dean Worcester, the Commissioner who had founded the Bureau of Science, rejoiced in the co-operation of the promising young research man and did everything he could to facilitate his investigations.

In 1902 Strong resigned from the Army in order to devote himself exclusively to medical studies. His contributions to the *Philippine Journal of Science*, of which he was an editor, won for him international recognition as an authority in the field of tropical medicine, about which little was then known. He made important studies on dysentery, plague, cholera, and beriberi. In 1903 the United States government sent him to Berlin, where he studied in the University and did special work in the Institute for Contagious Diseases. After a year he returned to Manila and resumed the directorship of the Biological Laboratory. From 1910 to 1913 he was chief of the medical department of the General Hospital in Manila and from 1907 to 1913 professor of tropical medicine in the University's College of Medicine. He contributed greatly to the effectiveness of both institutions.

Health conditions in the Philippines during the early days of American administration would have challenged the best

efforts of a much larger staff of capable physicians and surgeons than were available at that time. In a country of between six and eight million people there was only one doctor for every twenty thousand persons. Outside of Manila there existed no adequate hospital or medical school and no trained nurses or schools for nurses. Hundreds of thousands of people died every year of curable or preventable diseases; epidemics of cholera, plague, and smallpox were frequent. Drinking water often contained the germs of dysentery. Tuberculosis was prevalent. Yaws and leprosy made their inroads. Infant mortality in the first year of life was about 50 per cent. The Philippines were indeed a fertile field for the student of tropical diseases.

Fortunately, early in the civil administration Dr. Victor G. Heiser was selected as Director of the Bureau of Health. He had come to the Philippines with the Quarantine Service and shown himself a master administrator. With the scanty allotment of funds for the health service, amounting to not more than seven cents per capita annually, Doctor Heiser fought epidemics and directed and controlled the work of the district health officers, the training schools for nurses, and the construction and administration of hospitals. With Heiser in charge of administration and Strong doing the research and providing new serums and remedies, the Philippine government had a medical team each member of which was superlatively capable in his field.

Combined with his scientific knowledge and skill, Strong's imagination enabled him to make brilliant discoveries; but he never accepted them as sound until he had subjected them to the most thorough testing. He distrusted short cuts — even those inspired by his own genius. His passion for accuracy controlled all his work.

Among the Igorots a loathsome skin disease known as yaws



was common. One of Strong's discoveries was that salvarsan, which had proved to be a cure for syphilis, was also a cure for yaws. It was, however, difficult to secure a sufficient number of cases to furnish an adequate test of the treatment. When sufferers from the disease learned that instead of having a soothing ointment applied to their sores they were to be jabbed with a needle, they balked. Finally a tribal chief who had a "beautiful" case of yaws and who had committed some minor offense was put into the Bontoc hospital instead of being jailed, and against his protests and despite his pleas for salves and bandages was compelled to submit to daily inoculations. The prediction that he would be well in fourteen days meant nothing to him, as he was illiterate and unable to count. So he was given a stick notched at fourteen equal intervals and told to cut it through at a notch every day, beginning at one end and working along to the other. When the stick was all gone, his disease would be gone. This mumbo-jumbo appealed to him as strong medicine, and he conscientiously obeyed instructions. By the ninth day he was, according to Dean Worcester's report of the incident, running about town exhibiting his rapidly healing body to anyone who would look at it. On the tenth day he suddenly disappeared, to the dismay of the doctor, who had hoped by using him as bait to lure other yaws sufferers into the hospital for treatment. A few days later, however, he returned, bringing with him thirteen victims of the disease. In a short time Strong received the gratifying news that in the Bontoc region yaws had been virtually eliminated.

Periodically, threats of bubonic plague agitated Manila. Rats from foreign ports were constantly arriving on foreign ships in great numbers and distributing themselves throughout the city. Doctor Heiser directed a ceaseless war of prevention.

Thousands of rats were caught and sent in to the Bureau of Science, where they were tagged with labels showing from what section of the city they had come. Under Strong's direction a scientific analysis was then made. Whenever microscopic examination indicated infection, the authorities in the zone that had harbored the rat were notified. Then, using ingenious measures that Doctor Heiser had devised, they immediately undertook a methodical campaign to destroy all rats in the area for which they were responsible.

The measures that the Bureau of Health took to reduce the ravages of Asiatic cholera and the scientific contribution that Strong made to this effort were equally thorough and effective. He produced a serum — it was rumored that he had first tried it out on himself, but he never would admit that there was any truth in the report — with which all persons living in a community where the disease had made its appearance were inoculated. In 1906 he himself inoculated eight thousand persons, of whom only three contracted the disease. Dr. P. M. Rixey, Surgeon General of the Navy, who visited the Islands that year, declared that in work on the plague bacillus Strong was leading the world.

In dealing with smallpox, which was one of the worst scourges of the Philippines, Doctors Strong and Heiser together achieved extraordinary success. Vaccination had been made compulsory throughout the Islands; the Bureau of Science supplied the vaccine and trained the vaccinators. Although some of the Filipino sanitary officers who were chosen to do the work were careless and let the vaccine spoil through not keeping it cool, and although a few shirked their job and turned in false reports of vaccinations, the progress made in checking the disease was remarkable. The annual death toll from smallpox was brought down from forty thousand to a

few hundred. It was an amazing achievement, considering the very scanty funds that were at the disposal of the Bureau of Health.

When in 1911 pneumonic plague swept Northern China, Strong was sent as the American delegate to the International Plague Conference in Peking. He did more than attend the conference. He went with an associate into the area where the epidemic was worst — where the mortality among victims without medical attendance was 100 per cent and even among doctors and nurses more than 80 per cent — and there, with zero temperatures outdoors, he conducted laboratory experiments in unheated rooms. Sometimes at the end of a day's work he found living plague bacilli on the inside of the mask that he wore to guard against infection.

In 1913 Strong was called to the Harvard Medical School to become its first professor of tropical diseases, a chair which he held for the next twenty-five years. But the occupancy of that chair did not mean that thenceforth he led the quiet academic life usually associated with professors. Neither during his incumbency nor after it was his work mainly that of the classroom and laboratory. His services were so much in demand from afflicted areas in all parts of the world that Harvard University repeatedly granted him long leaves of absence.

In the first year of his professorship he led an expedition to study tropical diseases in Peru. In 1915 he carried on a heroic fight in Serbia against typhus. During 1917 and 1918, first as major, then as lieutenant colonel, and finally as colonel in the Medical Corps of the American Expeditionary Forces, he, together with the members of his staff, rendered notable service in discovering and demonstrating how trench fever was transmitted. In 1919 he organized the Cannes Conference for the Red Cross, and in 1920 he headed the medical section

of the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva. Then for a few years he was able to devote himself without interruption to teaching and research. But in 1925 he was studying tropical diseases in the Amazon Basin, in 1926 and 1927 in Liberia and the Belgian Congo, in 1931 and 1932 in Guatemala, and in 1934 again in the Belgian Congo. He undertook the African expedition in order to make thorough studies of trypanosomiasis, the disease commonly known as sleeping sickness, the germ of which is carried by the tsetse fly. During the walking trip that he took in connection with his 1926-1927 investigations he lost forty pounds in weight. In refusing to abandon the trip under the severe conditions that he encountered, he displayed the persistence that was one of his dominant traits.

His publications were numerous and notable. Among the more important may be mentioned his report on plague in Manchuria and his revision — which in a considerable degree amounted to rewriting — of Stitt's standard textbook on tropical medicine. In two extra editions issued during the Second World War, Strong brought it up to date. The Army and Navy bought thousands of copies.

When the United States entered the Second World War, Strong was called to Washington to organize and conduct the teaching of tropical medicine in the Army Medical School. It was exhausting work, from which he took no vacation. He kept himself in condition, as he had done in Boston, by walking every day to and from his work — a distance in each city of about four miles. Every six weeks he had a new class on his hands for intensive training. That steady grind went on until the end of the war. It was the climax of a great medical career.

There is no need here to list the numerous honors bestowed upon him in recognition of his services to humanity. Two tributes, however, are of such character that they deserve men-



tion. In 1944 the American Foundation for Tropical Medicine established the Richard Pearson Strong Medal to be awarded annually for the most distinguished work done during the year in that field, and made the first award to Strong himself. Recently Harvard University has transferred the School of Tropical Medicine from the Medical School to its Department of Public Hygiene and is requesting that gifts for its endowment be sent in memory of Richard Pearson Strong.

With all his intense and absorbing activities Strong found much time to give to friendship. He was indeed the most genial and also the most solicitous of friends. A member of the Philippine Commission had been given work so onerous that Strong feared his health would suffer. The doctor made a point of calling for the other man every day at five o'clock and taking him to the Manila Club to play two or three sets of tennis. Although Strong was much the better player of the two and might always have picked up a game with someone more nearly a match for himself, he assumed this regular daily task as a means of getting the Commissioner back into good condition. From that time on he watched over his friend's health with the utmost vigilance, and later when the Commissioner became Governor General he exacted a promise to call him in at once if he ever felt ill. One night at about two o'clock the Governor General awoke feeling very ill, but he did not want to get his friend out of bed at that hour. By four o'clock he felt it necessary to telephone to him. The doctor arrived in a few minutes and after going over him told him that if he did not give up work at once and put himself entirely in Strong's hands he would not have more than a 30 per cent chance of recovery. The Governor General called in a secretary and wrote an order making the Vice Governor Acting Governor General. Under Strong's



care he recovered; he always felt that only the doctor's skill and absolute devotion had pulled him through.

The two men became close friends. They played together on the Philippine polo team. They often toured the Islands together, sometimes by steamer, sometimes by motor, sometimes on horseback. On their riding trips they often journeyed through regions recently pacified and inhabited by savages who had been head-hunters. Strong's interest in the sights and in the natives was inexhaustible. The lovely mountain streams and the magnificent forests delighted his eyes and appealed to his love of beauty. The natives seldom appealed to that, but they did appeal always to a sentiment that was even stronger and deeper in him, the moving force of his life — the sense of compassion.

Strong was above all a social being. The roster of the clubs to which he belonged, in Washington, New York, Newport, Boston, is no less impressive than the list of scientific associations and other learned bodies of which he was a member. He liked the society of scholars and he liked the society of good fellows, and he was welcomed with equal delight into both groups. When at last his work was done he was not permitted to enjoy his richly earned leisure. After a long and painful illness he died in Boston on July 4, 1948.

Through all his active and fruitful life, in which he had been decorated by many governments and honored by many learned societies, Richard Strong was simple, gentle, affectionate, and kind.



CHARLES HENRY BRENT

## CHARLES HENRY BRENT

Born April 9, 1862

Ordained as Deacon, 1886

Minister at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Boston,  
1891-1901

First Episcopal Bishop to the Philippines, 1901-1917

President, First International Opium Commission,  
Shanghai, 1909

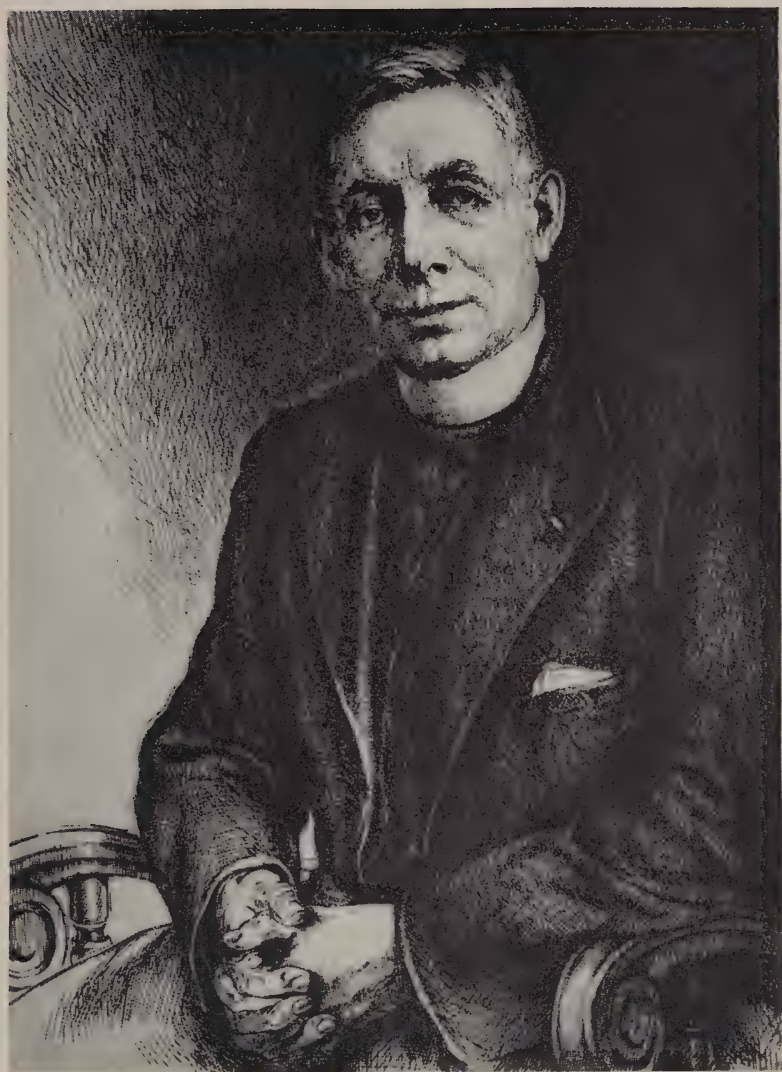
President, Second International Opium Commission,  
The Hague, 1911

Senior Headquarters Chaplain, A.E.F., 1918

Bishop of Western New York, 1919-1929

President, World Conference on Faith and Order, Lau-  
sanne, Switzerland, 1927

Died March 27, 1929







## 12

# Charles Henry Brent

ONE OF TEN CHILDREN of Canadian parents, Charles Henry Brent was descended on his mother's side from Thomas Cummings, a western New York loyalist who settled in Canada after the Revolution. His father was the rector of St. George's Church at Newcastle, Ontario. The boy went to Trinity College School at Port Hope; he was a good student and an excellent football player. He also shone in musical comedy. From the Port Hope school he entered the University of Toronto. After graduating there in 1884 he taught for two years at his old school while preparing himself for ordination. His love of music which had been encouraged at home and in school and college was a great resource to him throughout life. He became a skilled organist and enjoyed playing the flute.

With his wide mouth, large nose, and craggy chin, he was a homely man, but in his homely face there was charm as well as strength. The friendliness of his smile and the kindness of his blue-gray eyes attracted people to him. His diffidence and shyness were winning; they implied no readiness to compromise on matters that he deemed important. Goodness was written on his face.

Finding no opening in the diocese of Toronto, the young clergyman served first as a curate in Buffalo. Then he came under the influence of the Rev. A. C. A. Hall — later Epis-

copal Bishop of Vermont — head of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in Boston, and in 1888 took up work in Boston with him. He did not join the Cowley Fathers, as the Order was called, but he adapted his life to their monastic routine and felt that he derived great spiritual benefit from it. At first his work was with St. Augustine's Mission for Negroes. Then he went to St. Stephen's Church, a mission church in the South End of Boston, where his success in awakening new interest and hope in the poor and discouraged and in reclaiming the demoralized was so notable as to attract the attention of church leaders throughout the country. Meanwhile, he had been naturalized as a citizen of the United States.

In October, 1901, he was elected — and in December consecrated — Bishop of the Philippines. He spent several months traveling about the United States, raising funds for the work ahead, a task that he found distasteful but that he carried through successfully. In May, 1902, he sailed for the Philippines, going by way of Europe with Governor Taft, who was to stop off in Rome for negotiations with the Vatican for the purchase by the United States government of the lands belonging to the Friars. From talks with the Governor, Brent derived a good understanding of the problems and challenges that he would meet. He passed two months in Switzerland, waiting for Taft to complete his negotiations. On July 24 they resumed their journey together and a month later they arrived at Manila.

From the beginning, the missionary bishop's point of view was somewhat different from that of most missionaries. He saw good in other religions and thought that their best features might be presented in conjunction with Christian teaching. He respected the work that missionaries of other sects were doing and tried not to invade their areas of activity. He deprecated the emotional approach which effected conversions

without giving the converts a sound basis of knowledge or understanding to support the faith that they had impulsively embraced. His method of leading the natives to Christianity was by setting up schools, hospitals, and mission chapels in which Christian principles and the Christian way of life should be presented in the simplest form.

The missionary stations that he established were widely separated. Each one had its school and dispensary. Outside of Manila, Baguio was the principal one. Another was at Bontoc in the Mountain Province — the northernmost station in Luzon. The Igorot head-hunters whom it served co-operated willingly in making the enterprise a success. They let their boys and girls live in the school dormitories, and some of them became assistants to Father Clapp, the resident missionary. A third missionary station was at Sagada, where a not altogether successful effort was made to train the Igorots in modern agricultural methods. In Manila, Brent was the moving spirit in building the fine Episcopal Cathedral, which was destroyed many years later in the course of the recapture of the city from the Japanese. In Manila, too, he founded a hospital, a settlement house, and an orphanage, all exclusively for Filipinos. He did not neglect the American residents; he was instrumental in starting the Columbia Club for Americans of small incomes and providing a fine clubhouse with bowling alleys, billiard room, library, and indoor swimming pool, the first club to be so equipped in the Philippines. Through his close and friendly relations with government officials his missionary work gained in effectiveness, and government also profited.

His interest in civic affairs led him on one occasion to upbraid the Governor General for appointing as one of the five councillors of Baguio a man whom Brent had found to be untrustworthy. The Governor General replied that had he

been aware of the facts which the Bishop presented he would not have made the appointment. Brent urged him to cancel it. Since the position carried no executive, administrative, or financial responsibility, the Governor General thought that drastic step unnecessary. In a short time, however, a reorganization of the Municipal Board gave the Governor General an opportunity to appoint the Bishop to the place on the Council that the undesirable member had occupied. Brent reluctantly accepted the appointment with the proviso that whenever he was absent from Baguio his friend and fellow worker, the Rev. Remsen B. Ogilby, head of the Baguio school for American boys, should act as his alternate.

In Manila, Brent raised the funds that built and equipped St. Luke's Hospital, which, though small, was a hospital of the first class. At Zamboanga in Mindanao he established another hospital. He called, not in vain, for medical missionaries; and not in vain for teachers, among whom, besides Doctor Ogilby, came the Rev. Samuel S. Drury to found Easter School for native boys at Baguio. Doctor Drury later became the distinguished rector of St. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire. Doctor Ogilby became president of Trinity College at Hartford. Thus two eminent American educators had their first training under Bishop Brent in the Philippines.

The most daring of Brent's educational enterprises was the school for Moros that he started on the island of Jolo. At Zamboanga he had been fascinated by those picturesque folk. "The typical Moro," he wrote to a friend, "is a fanatic in religion, a pirate by choice, and a gentleman by instinct." In 1914, cruising in his little boat, the *Peril*, in which he visited his scattered stations, he invited a band of Moro outlaws to a conference in the hope of reconciling them with the forces of law and order. They swarmed aboard his little



craft, all of them except the leader armed with long, heavy, sharp knives. Brent had with him two friendly Moro interpreters and two American ladies who were sight-seeing among the islands. During the conference that lasted all day there were some tense moments, the most disturbing when one of the bandits suggested seizing the boat and killing the Christians. The proposal was rejected with scorn by the leader, who thus justified Brent's conception of the typical Moro. But the outlaws remained unimpressed by the Bishop's arguments and appeals, and at the end of a hard-fought day withdrew to resume their predatory operations.

Although this experience had not encouraged the belief that the Moros were readily susceptible of improvement, Brent in 1914 founded a school for Moro boys at Indinans in the interior of Jolo. As in the case with the government schools for Mohammedans there was to be no religious teaching in this mission school. The pupils were expected to receive their religious instruction at home or in the mosques from the Imans or priests. At school they studied agriculture and handicrafts; they learned to grow their own food. So successful did the work with them prove that years later a substantial part of the Bishop Brent Memorial Fund was applied to continuing it.

In order to keep his missionary enterprises going, Brent had to make frequent fund-raising visits to the United States. He was troubled by the consciousness that these long absences caused a loss in administrative efficiency, but he knew that to maintain American interest in his work frequent personal appearances and appeals were necessary. They were useful too in creating a better understanding in the United States of what the American government was accomplishing in the Philippines. Brent did not hesitate to combat forcibly the

mischievous misconceptions and misinformation spread by the Anti-Imperialists. In 1913 he wrote to the secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League as follows:

I have received your appeal to me to support you in a movement which, after more than eleven years of experience in the Philippine Islands, I am convinced is faulty in its conception, unfair in its methods, and disastrous in its consequences.

His wisdom was that of a statesman as well as a churchman. Concerning the question of granting independence to the Filipinos he wrote:

It must be recognized that the Philippine problem cannot be settled without reference to its international bearing. Neutralization has been proposed. But can American or any other diplomacy secure the neutrality of the Powers? Is it not so, that though no existing military power, East or West, would fight America in order to secure possession of the Philippines, there are at least two nations which would seize the first opportunity for interference if American sovereignty ceased? Can America afford to protect a government half way round the world which she does not actually and constructively control? . . . It appears to me that it would be a measure of quixotry beyond the most altruistic administration to stand sponsor for the order of an experimental government of more than doubtful stability ten thousand miles from our coasts. When the Philippines achieve independence they must swallow the bitter with the sweet, and accept the perils as well as the joys of walking alone. There are additional risks involved even in a limited protectorate to which I trust America will never expose herself.

Brent's ability and wisdom as a statesman were displayed in his efforts to put an end to the opium traffic. In order to suppress improper distribution of narcotics the Philippine Commission in 1903 proposed to make opium a government monopoly. President Theodore Roosevelt, however, vetoed the proposal. Governor Taft, deeply concerned over the situation, appointed Brent a member of a committee to study the opium trade in the countries of the Far East. The committee

spent several months in travel and investigation and returned convinced that only through international agreement could the opium trade among the peoples of the East be controlled. In 1906 Brent wrote to President Roosevelt urging him to call an international conference to discuss the subject. As a result, the International Opium Commission met in Shanghai in 1909; Brent was elected president of this, and of a second conference held two years later at The Hague. Although at these two Conferences there was a measure of agreement on an international policy to make opium everywhere available only for medicinal purposes, the machinery for effecting such control was never set up. After the First World War the problem was turned over to the League of Nations. In 1924 Brent made two visits to Geneva to attend conferences on the subject. After the second, which produced a totally ineffective international agreement, he returned heartsick at the failure of his efforts. All that had resulted from the many international conferences on the subject had been, he felt, a compromise with evil. Only two weeks before his death he made an eloquent plea that the nations unite to wipe out the criminal traffic in narcotics.

At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, Brent was at the Bontoc Mission, where he had gone to take charge while the head of it was absent on vacation. The news of the invasion of Belgium reached him on the ninth of August. He telegraphed to Manila to have news sent to him daily by wire. Near by there was a Roman Catholic mission conducted by Belgian priests with whom he had established friendly relations. The only knowledge they had of what was happening in their country was derived from the daily bulletins that he received. He shared their distress and did what he could to help them.

Brent had been a strong and athletic man. In the Philip-

pines he played golf and tennis and, for a time, polo. He was left-handed and had the facility that left-handed persons often have in games of bat and ball. On one occasion, finding no golf clubs designed for left-handed players in the Baguio clubhouse, he played round with a putter only and beat his opponent handily. Once in a round of golf he encountered an unusual hazard. As he was addressing his ball preparatory to making an approach shot, a startled cry from his caddie caused him to look round. Close behind him, poised to strike, was a cobra. "With an excellent mashie stroke," said Brent to a friend afterwards, "I laid him dead to the hole."

In 1915 he became subject to heart attacks and had to give up the games that he had enjoyed playing. In March, 1916, he went to the United States for reasons of health; but in July of the next year he returned to his work in the Philippines. Two months later he received a call to the diocese of Western New York. Twice during his service in the Philippines he had been elected Bishop of Washington and once Bishop of New Jersey; but he had declined the elections, feeling that his life work lay in the Islands. Now his physician warned him that if he remained he could not expect to live long. Yet he could not at once decide that it was God's will that he should go elsewhere. While he was seeking light on the question, he received an appeal from the Y.M.C.A. in France to come and help them. That call he did not doubt was imperative.

On his way to France he stopped at Buffalo and after some consultation with his friends agreed to accept the election if he might be allowed to postpone taking up his episcopal duties until after the end of the war. To this the diocese willingly consented.

Brent's work with the Y.M.C.A. brought him into contact with General Pershing, Commander in Chief of the A.E.F.,



whom he had known well in the Philippines. After a few months Pershing made him Senior Headquarters Chaplain, with the rank of major. In that capacity he established a chaplains' school, organized the Chaplains' Corps, visited the recreation centers, and took a leading part in co-ordinating the various welfare agencies. General Pershing often said that his work was invaluable and beyond praise.

During the ten years that Brent was Bishop of Western New York, he was vitally interested in church unity. He was active in organizing the World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne, and in bringing about a sense of fellowship among the attending members of the various denominations. On March 27, 1929, he died at Lausanne, Switzerland.

In one of his prayers he expressed in a few words his deepest longing: "Bind together the peoples of the East and West by the ties of sympathy, respect, and service, that in appreciation and recognition of one another's virtues and with considerate forbearance in our differences we may be unified into one family according to Thy purpose, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Among peoples of East and West, civilized and uncivilized, he devoted his life, bravely, unselfishly, unfalteringly, in the service of that lofty purpose.



# Epilogue

NO PAGE OF HISTORY is free from blots. In retrospect the page recording our adventure in the Philippines seems white and shining. Yet at the time when it was being written many Americans thought it so black that they would have liked to tear it out of the book altogether. They were not ignorant people. One of them, William Vaughn Moody, wrote a poem, "Ode in Time of Hesitation," which was an impassioned appeal to this free and democratic nation to turn from the career of conquest on which it was setting out. In feeling and imagery and phrasing it is one of the noblest of American poems — but now it is almost forgotten. Its premises were false. It was based on distrust of America.

Why should any intelligent American have been so distrustful? In Cuba the nation had shown its integrity of purpose. If it had been impelled by imperialistic motives it would not have surrendered freely and promptly the more valuable of its two recent island acquisitions. That the people of the Philippines, unlike those of Cuba, were not at once capable of self-government was painfully evident. Our military occupation of the archipelago was required for the protection of defenseless natives. Aguinaldo's guerilla warfare was mainly destructive. He himself, a humane leader, tried to prevent his troops from committing atrocities. But when he was directing operations from remote mountain fastnesses, he had little control over many of his subordinates, some of whom pillaged and murdered with impunity.

Funston, Wood, and Pershing, before going to the Philippines, had served in Cuba. All of them sympathized with the aspirations of the island peoples who had suffered under Span-

ish misrule. Yet all of them, after holding responsible posts in the Philippines, were convinced that if the United States government should abandon the Islands without first setting them in order it would be guilty of a shameful betrayal. The Islanders would then inevitably fall victims to a more rapacious imperialistic power than Spain. Bishop Brent, who served in the Philippines longer than any of the three generals, concurred in their opinion that only after years of education in the principles and practice of democratic government might the heterogeneous peoples of the Islands be able to stand on their own feet and manage their own affairs.

The men whose work in the Philippines has been briefly outlined in the foregoing sketches, and numerous others who labored in the same field and whose deeds are not less worth recording, went to the Islands on no such mission as that which the Anti-Imperialists attributed to them. They were not agents of a power determined to exploit unjustly a backward and helpless people. Nor were they animated by self-seeking motives. To bring a richer life to the miserably poor and ignorant was their aim. Their work was ill paid, often carried on in conditions that affected their health; it gave them little prestige among their contemporaries; it opened few doors of opportunity at home. They toiled without thought of any great reward.

But years later those of them who had survived received a reward that was beyond price. For when the Japanese invaders proclaimed that they had come to liberate the Islands from Western imperialism, the Filipinos were not deceived. With few exceptions they did all in their power to aid the Americans and to expel the invader. And it was in large part the work of such men as Wright and Worcester, Carpenter and Leech, Wood and Brent, that made it possible for a Filipino to be president of the United Nations today.

# Index

- Aguinaldo, Emilio, 8, 18, 19, 20-25, 30  
 Allen, Maj. Gen. Henry T., 39, 127  
 Angell, President James B., 70
- Baker, Newton D., 125  
 Bandholtz, Maj. Gen. Harry H., 127  
 Bliss, Maj. Gen. Tasker H., 58, 59  
 Bourne, Frank S., 70  
 Brent, Rt. Rev. Charles H., 127; characteristics, 143; mission work in Boston, 144; Bishop of the Philippines, 144; wide range of activities, 145; educational enterprises, 146-147; combated Anti-Imperialist views, 148; worked to abolish opium traffic, 148-149; Bishop of Western New York, 150; Y.M.C.A. work in France, 150; Senior Headquarters Chaplain, 151; organized World Conference on Faith and Order, 151; 153  
 Bullard, Maj. Gen. Robert L., 127
- Carpenter, Frank W.: boyhood adventures, 85; secretary to General Lawton, 86; Executive Secretary of Philippine Commission, 86; tutor in government to Filipinos, 87; member of committee to reorganize government, 88; introduced sanitary markets, 88; Governor of the Moro Province, 90; skill in diplomacy, 91, 92; misfortunes and ill health, 93, 153  
 Case, James F., 99, 100  
 Chichester, Captain, 9  
 Clemenceau, Georges, 102, 126  
 Coolidge, President Calvin, 64  
 Corbin, Maj. Gen. Henry C., 45
- Denby, Charles, 72  
 Dewey, Admiral George: at Hong Kong, xii; Commissioner, xvii; boyhood adventures, 3; with Farragut, 4; command of Asiatic Squadron, 5; battle of Manila Bay, 6; encounters with Von Diedrichs, 7, 8, 9; return to America, 10; 69, 72  
 Drury, Rev. Samuel S., 146
- Edwards, Maj. Gen. Clarence, 108  
 Eliot, President Charles W., 55
- Farragut, Admiral David G., 4, 5  
 Foch, Marshal Ferdinand, 126  
 Forbes, W. Cameron, 61, 88  
 Funston, Maj. Gen. Frederick: characteristics and early training, 13; officer in Cuban revolutionary army, 14; Colonel 20th Kansas volunteers, 14; marriage, 15; capture of Caloocan, 16; crossing of Rio Grande, 17; Congressional Medal of Honor, 18; expedition to capture Aguinaldo, 20-25; death, 26; 152
- Grayson, Rear Admiral Cary T., 103  
 Greene, Maj. Gen. Francis V., 97  
 Greene, Brig. Gen. George S., 97  
 Greene, Maj. Gen. Nathanael, 97  
 Greene, Warwick: background and characteristics, 97; law clerk in Philippines, 98; transfer to department of public works, 99; director of public works, 100; road builder, 101; other engineering enterprises, 101; war relief and Red Cross work in Europe, 102; pessimistic forecast, 103  
 Gridley, Captain, 6
- Hall, Rt. Rev. A. C. A., 143  
 Harbord, Lt. Gen. James G., 40, 56, 127  
 Harding, President Warren G., 61, 62  
 Harrison, Francis Burton, 62, 81, 90, 101, 113  
 Hart, Albert Bushnell, 46

Heiser, Dr. Victor G., 76, 133, 134, 135

Hilario Tal Placido, 20-24

Jimeno, Comandante, xvi

Johnston, Gordon, 58, 59

Lacuna, General, 19, 20, 21, 25

Lawton, Maj. Gen. Henry W., 86

Leech, John Sylvanus: background, 107; in Government Printing Office, 107; director of Bureau of Printing in the Philippines, 108; work as educator, 109-111; appointed Public Printer of the United States, 111; returned to Bureau of Printing in Manila, 112; position with J. P. Morgan & Company, 113; 153

Leedy, Governor, 14

Liggett, Major General, 127

Lloyd George, David, 102, 126

Long, John D., 5

Loving, William H., 40

MacArthur, Maj. Gen. Arthur, 20, 25, 31, 74

Marshall, General George C., 125, 126

McCoy, Maj. Gen. Frank R., 56, 58, 92

McKinley, President William, 71, 73, 74

Miles, Maj. Gen. Nelson A., 54

Montero, General, xv, xvi

Montojo, Admiral, 6

Moody, William Vaughan, 152

Morales, M. G., xv

Mudah, Rajah, 57

Nolan, Maj. Gen. Dennis, 127

Ogilby, Rev. Remsen B., 146

Osmeña, Sergio, 43, 87

Otis, Maj. Gen. Elwell S., xvii, 72, 74

Palmer, Frank W., 108

Pershing, General John J., 91; background, 117; appointed to U. S.

Military Academy, 118; distinguished himself at El Caney, 119; organized Bureau of Insular Affairs, 119; subjugated the Moros, 119; military attaché to Japan, 120; Governor of the Moro Province, 120; disarmed the Moros, 122-124; service on Mexican border, 124; Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, 125; placed his troops at Marshal Foch's disposal, 126; conducted Meuse-Argonne offensive, 126; order to American Army of Occupation, 126; 150, 151, 152

Quezon, Manuel, 43, 87, 102

Rixey, Surgeon General P. M., 135

Roosevelt, President Theodore, 33, 36, 47, 49, 104, 120, 149

Root, Elihu, xviii, 29, 30, 31, 108

Roxas, Manuel, 43

Schurman, President J. G., xvii, 72, 73

Scott, Maj. Gen. Hugh, 57

Segismundo, 19

Segoia, 19, 21, 23, 24

Stanton, Charles E., 125

Steere, Joseph B., 69

Strong, Dr. Richard P.: characteristics, 131; president of board to investigate tropical diseases in Philippines, 132; director of Biological Laboratory in Manila, 132; with Dr. Heiser controlled communicable diseases, 133; found cure for yaws, 134; delegate to International Plague Conference in Peking, 136; professor of tropical diseases in Harvard Medical School, 136; services in First World War, 136; in Second World War, 137

Summerall, General Charles P., 127

Taft, President William H., xvii; characteristics, 29; arrival in Manila, 30; Civil Governor, 31; liberal program, 32; encouraged



- Filipinization of services and organization of Federal party, 33; negotiated with Vatican for purchase of friars' lands, 34; encouraged establishment of postal savings bank, 34; reformed administration of justice, 35, 36; Secretary of War, 36; 39, 41, 74, 108, 144
- Taylor, J. S., 19
- Tinio, Manuel, 43
- Trembley, W. B., 17
- Villa, General, 24
- Villa, Pancho, 124
- Von Diedrichs, Vice Admiral, 7, 8
- Weeks, John W., 61
- Wheaton, General, 20
- White, Edward, 17
- White, John R., 58, 59
- Wilson, President Woodrow, 61, 63, 81, 102, 112, 124
- Wood, Maj. Gen. Leonard: characteristics, 53; Governor of Santiago, 54; Governor General of Cuba, 55; Governor of the Moro Province, 56; visited by Rajah Mudah, 58; extermination of Bud Dajo garrison, 59; commander of Philippine Division of the Army, 59; co-operated with civil government, 60; Chief of Staff, 60; mission to Philippines with W. Cameron Forbes, 61; Governor General, 62; asserted executive authority, 63; supported by administration, 64; died, 64; reference to by Worcester, 90; 152, 153
- Worcester, Dean C.: member of zoological expedition to the Philippines, 69; second visit as a naturalist to the Philippines, 70; interview with President McKinley, 71; Commissioner to the Philippines, 72; corrected false reports, 72-73; Secretary of the Interior, 74; work among non-Christian tribes, 75; with Wright found site for summer capital, 44; efforts to improve public health, 76; narrow escapes among the wild tribes, 76-79; relations with Filipinos, 79; efforts to abolish slavery, 80; death, 81; on Carpenter, 90; 132, 153
- Wright, Luke E.: background, 39; organized Constabulary, 39; Governor General, 41; made tours of the Islands, 42; with Worcester found site for summer capital, 44; appointed committee to reorganize the government, 44; effected improvements in transportation, 45; in treatment of lepers, 47; in condition of jails, 47; views on Philippine independence, 48; cabal against him, 49; Secretary of War, 49; comment on Worcester, 79; 153









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